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NOTES

ON

THE RELIGIOUS, MORAL, AND POLITICAL STATE

OF

INDIA

BEFORE THE MAHOMEDAN INVASION,

CHIEFLY FOUNDED ON THE TRAVELS OF THE CHINESE BUDDHIST PRIEST FA HIAN IN INDIA, A.D. 399,

AND

ON THE COMMENTARIES OF MESSRS. REMUSAT, KLAPROTH, BURNOUF, AND LANDRESSE.

BY

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL W. H. SYKES, F.R.S.

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Notes on the Religious, Moral, and Political State of India before the Mahomedan Invasion, chiefly founded on the Travels of the Chinese Buddhist Priest Fai Han in India, A.D. 399, *and on the Commentaries of Messrs. Remusat, Klaproth, Burnouf, and Landresse.*

Our Sanskrit scholars have sought, in the depths of Brahmanical literature, for the means of illustrating the political, the religious, the moral, and social condition of that ancient people, over whose minds it has hitherto been believed that *Brahmans* exercised from the earliest times unbounded sway. The inquirers sought for facts and they found fables; they looked for historic lights[1], and they found poetic coruscations, which served only to render the darkness in which truth was enveloped more impenetrable. An Orientalist, Mr. Wathen, has said, that on the Mussulman conquest of India the Brahmans destroyed all previous historical documents; they seem, nevertheless, to have carefully preserved, or invented, or adapted, such compositions in Sanskrit, as attested their own religious supremacy or established their cosmogony; and which have fettered the minds of Indians, as well as foreigners, to an unreserved admission of such pretensions as in their arrogance, caprice, or selfishness, they chose to advance.

In this state of hopelessness, with respect to the means of elucidating the ancient history of India, there break upon us lights from a most unexpected source—from the literature of that remarkable people, the Chinese—which will go far to dissipate the mists which have hitherto obscured our view, and which will give our judgments a wider scope of action, and our deductions a stabler basis than we have hitherto possessed. Of the value and character of these

[1] Professor Wilson says, "*The only Sanskrit composition yet discovered, to which the title of history can with any propriety be applied, is the Raja Taringini, a history of Cashmir.*"—Introductory observations to the History. This history nevertheless has the proved anachronisms of 796 years [Mr. Turnour thinks 1177 years,] and 1048 years, and it is a comparatively modern work, having been compiled A.D. 1148.

Professor Wilson also, in his notes on the *Mudra Rákshasa*, says, "It may not here be out of place to offer a few observations on the identification of Chandragupta and Sandracottus. *It is the* ONLY *point on which we can rest with any thing like confidence in the history of the Hindus*, and is therefore of vital importance in all our attempts to reduce the reigns of their kings to a rational and consistent chronology."

lights, I leave M. Landresse, one of the translators from the original Chinese into *French*, to speak for himself:—

"If the most pure sources were for ever dried up; if there did not even remain a solitary sacred book, written in the idiom in which the Divinity had chosen to transmit his laws to men, or if these books had not yet for ages to come issued from the monasteries of China and Thibet, in which they are preserved; if the texts in the language of the Brahmans, written subsequently to the period at which they were at the head of religion in India, were absolutely rejected; if it be objected, that the Singhalese versions do not permit of the origin or etymology of the terms which constitute the language of religion being traced; if it were no longer possible to discover the roots of the names appertaining to gods, saints, or heroes, to understand their signification; if the books of the Thibetans were rejected in consequence of certain discrepancies in the classification of their cosmogony, and those of the Mongols, in consequence of their comparatively recent date, and the national legends which are introduced; in one word, if it were desired to recover the entire doctrine of Buddha, in its primitive purity, and almost its original language, without the mixture of formulas, or of the traditions of strangers; there still would remain these translations from the *highest antiquity*, transmitted to us by the Chinese, made directly from the holy books of the most authentic character, where the words, before being interpreted, are reproduced by analogous consonances always to be recognised, and where the grammatical forms are preserved."

Such is the character of these Chinese translations from Indian originals, illustrative of the principles and state of Buddhism in the seats of its origin, progress, glory, and extinction. But there are yet other sources of information of not less interest and value respecting the moral, political, and topographical state of India in the early centuries of the Christian era. These sources come from pious Chinese travellers, who, moved by the same feeling which carries Christians on pilgrimages to Jerusalem, Mahomedans to the Kiblah, and Hindús to their *Teerts*, (Tirthas,) braved the dangers, the privations, and the sufferings in the route, through Tartary, and over the Himalaya mountains, from China to India, to visit the scenes endeared to them, by being associated with the lives and miracles of their Buddhas, but chiefly to collect the sacred texts of their religion; and who, subsequently to their return to their country, gave an account of their travels to their countrymen[1]. But M. Landresse so fully

[1] The chief of these works, is that of Fa-Hian, on which are founded the notes I venture to lay before the Society, but others will also be quoted.

characterises *Foë Koué Ki* and the other works, that I beg to have recourse to his language:—"The description of the Buddhist kingdoms, which is the object of the present publication, has reference to the half of the *second* period of M. Remusat[1]." In many other works, M. Remusat endeavoured to show that the Chinese had learnt to make the tour of Asia, long before Europeans had doubled the Cape of Good Hope; and that they were not so ignorant in practical geography, as people are generally disposed to believe. Numerous texts prove in an incontestible manner the part which they had taken, two centuries before our era, in the events and commerce of Western Asia. From that time they never ceased to entertain either amicable or hostile, commercial or political relations with the inhabitants of those two lines of towns which seemed to trace through Tartary the road from China to Persia. In the century that preceded the birth of Christ, they sought to contract an alliance with the kings of Bactriana; and subsequently the last members of the Sassanides, overthrown in Persia by the Arabs, sought refuge with the Emperor Taï-tsoung. The Chinese profited by all these events to obtain a knowledge of the places of which they were the theatre; but above all, it is to the religious communications established and entertained by Buddhism that they owe the most precious part of the knowledge which they collected respecting foreign nations. Never did the ambition of conquest, nor the appetite of gain, conduct into countries so far removed as those into which the zeal of proselytism penetrated; and it is not without admiration, mixed with astonishment, that we see humble ecclesiastics cross the rivers and the seas which had stopped armies, traverse deserts and mountains into which no caravan had dared to penetrate, and brave perils, and surmount obstacles, which had set at nought the all-powerful will of emperors: some of them to sow at a distance the belief to which they themselves were attached; and others to verify the principles of their faith, in the country which gave them birth, and to visit the places rendered sacred by events in the life of Buddha."

"The most ancient of these religious undertakings, of which history preserves mention, is that of the travels of Lao-tseu to the west, in the *sixth century before our era.* Whatever opinion may be entertained of the authenticity of this tradition, and particularly as the circumstances that he reports are not all equally worthy of credence, it is beyond all doubt that at extremely remote periods there was a kind of reciprocity in the importations into China of the doctrine of Buddha, and in the propagation beyond the limits of this country of the precepts of Lao-tseu. It follows from many passages in Foë

[1] M. Remusat divides his history of Buddhism into *three* periods.

Kouë-ki that the philosophical sect which acknowledged Lao-tseu as its head and founder was, at the commencement of the fifth century before our era, already from an early period dispersed in the countries situated to the west and south-west of China, and even in India. Moreover, we could not well deny the analogy which exists between the opinions of the Doctors of Reason (Lao-tseu) and those of the Buddhists—an analogy which extends to the very base of their doctrines, as well as to the details of the popular belief, and which is removed too far from the circle of truths and of errors, which constantly lead men to the same point, to permit us to believe that this analogy should have sprung up in two countries *independent* of all communication, or of some traditional influence. A Buddhist priest, of the name of Chi li fang, appears to have been the first Buddhist missionary who came to China from the westward to propagate his faith. He arrived in Chan si in the year 217 before our era; thus this province, which passes for having been the seat of the government of the first sovereigns of China, and where there is every reason to believe that Chinese civilization had its birth, was also the first to become acquainted with Buddhism. Chi li fang was accompanied by eighteen ecclesiastics, and had some sacred books with him. Under Ai ti, of the dynasty of Han, in the first year of Youan Chiou, (two years before Jesus Christ,) some other books were taken by I tsun Keow, who was sent from the nation of the *Getes*[1]; and about the same time the king of their country ordered a learned disciple of the sect of Buddha, named King lou, to proceed to India to study [verify ?] the precepts of Buddhism. At this period, says the Chinese historian, the Buddhist sectaries were dispersed throughout our frontiers, and their doctrine was known in the empire, but it was not professed. That which may be called its official adoption did not occur until about sixty years afterwards. Buddha having manifested himself in a dream to the Emperor Mingti, this prince charged several learned individuals to collect in Hindústan information respecting the Buddhist religion, to copy its precepts, and to draw its temples and images. They returned accompanied by two ecclesiastics. It was then that *Central* China commenced to possess Buddhist priests, and that their religion was publicly professed. By frequent and regular communications from China to India it reached most of the nations of interior Asia: some received it from the labours of zealous missionaries; and others sent pious pilgrims to search for it in the countries where it was known to have been long held in honour.

[1] Scythians.

"Before the end of the second century very many Buddhist priests had arrived in China from Bokhara, from the country of the *Getes,* and from Hindústan, to form religious establishments; and they preached their doctrines, and *taught the languages of India.*

"In the year A.D. 257, a Chinese Buddhist travelled over the lesser Bokhara; and in 265 a Scythian, who had collected in the countries of the West numerous holy books, had arrived in China to translate them. The notice which M. Remusat has devoted to Fo thou tchhing in the *Universal Biography* informs us of the influence which this Buddhist priest, from Hindústan, exercised in the beginning of the fourth century in the north and west of the Chinese empire. The disciples which he united in crowds around him extended his fame: the people ran to profit by his sermons, and to witness his miracles. Many embraced a religious and contemplative life; and this may be looked upon as the period in which Buddhism made the greatest progress in China. Sangadeva, Fo tho ye ho, Tan ma ye ho, and, above all, Kieou ma lo chi, the first a native of Cophene, and the others of Hindústan, trod in the steps of Fo thou tchhing, and, like him, powerfully contributed to extend the influence of the new religion."

M. Landresse now introduces the author of *Foĕ Kouĕ Ki,* the book from which my notes are chiefly taken. He says of the traveller that he was "a Buddhist priest, belonging to the clerical school, of which Kieou ma lo chi was the head. His family name was Koung, and his ancestors were originally from Ping yang, in Chan si. Dedicated to the monastic life from his birth, he received at the age of three years, when he was made a Cha me, or disciple, or aspirant, one of those religious names which is imitated from similar Indian terms, and which indicate some moral or ascetic idea. That which was then given to him, and the only one by which it is permitted us to know him, is Chy Fa Hian, or, shortly, Fa hian, which signifies 'Manifestation of the Law.' The wisdom and holiness of Kieou ma lo chi continually attracted to Tchhang'an (now Si'an fou) a great concourse of devout persons; and it was there that Fa hian came to complete his theological studies; and after having been initiated in all the mysteries of the esoteric doctrine, he received the final precepts, and obtained the quality or dignity of Samanean, or priest of Buddha. But the wars, which lost to the Imperial Dynasty almost the whole of the northern part of China, and occasioned its division amongst a number of petty Thibetan and Tartar princes, proved fatal to Buddhism. At the end of the fourth century of our era, the sacred texts were found to be mutilated or

dispersed, the precepts were neglected or abandoned, all zeal became extinct, and the faith, wanting lights and support, ceased to operate. Profoundly afflicted at *this* state of things, Fa hian quitted his native land, and directed his steps towards those countries watered by the holy rivers. Many of his co-religionists joined with him, and in the year of our era 399 the little band were beyond the frontiers of China. They crossed all Tartary; they penetrated into the mountains of Thibet, where are the highest chains of the globe. By means of cords, and flying bridges, and steps hewn in the rock, they cleared otherwise inaccessible valleys, and precipices of 8000 feet in height: they twice passed the Indus, and followed the banks of the Ganges to the sea. There Fa hian alone remained of the little band that had set out with him. He embarked for Ceylon, whence, after having navigated the Indian seas for nearly three months, touching at Java, he returned to Tchhang'an, in the year A.D. 414, having travelled about twelve hundred leagues by land, and more than two thousand by sea. He had traversed thirty kingdoms, visited all the plaçes which tradition had rendered sacred, and above all, said he, 'I could not but admire the virtues, the piety, and the regular conduct of the Buddhist ecclesiastics.'

"But spectacles less gratifying awaited him in his native country. Since his departure, the state of the Buddhists was not ameliorated. A violent persecution was preparing against them in the north of China, which burst forth about the middle of the fifth century, and for a time arrested their progress. They were obliged to fly or conceal themselves, and their books became a prey to the flames. But from the first years of the next century, they were seen to make other efforts, to recommence by new means to render popular their belief, and to re-establish their religious traditions upon the authority of the originals.—In the year A.D. 502, Soung-yun and Hoeï-seng traversed the countries of Badakshhan, Oudyâna, Kandahar, and Eastern Persia. Fifteen years afterwards the emperor Ming ti sent Yun [surnamed the Samanêen], Fa lí, and others, into the western countries to study the books of Buddha. In A.D. 650 Hiuan thsang was on his way back to China, after an absence of more than twenty years, employed in visiting Tokharestan, Afghanistan, Scind, and *almost every part of Hindústan.* It is he who extended his steps the farthest; at least the narrative of his travels, which contains a description of 140 different countries, is the most extended and detailed of all those with which we are acquainted from Chinese authorities. About the same time, the sovereign of Kashgar sent the mantle of Sákya [Buddha], as a precious relic to the emperor Kao tsoung. There is also in two

books, a catalogue of the narratives, written by fifty-six ecclesiastics, who, during the three centuries that the dynasty of Tang lasted, undertook travels in the West. But the most considerable expedition is that which took place in 964 of our era. In conformity with a decree of the emperor Taï tsou, *three hundred* Buddhist priests set out for Hindústan to collect reliques of Buddha, and books written upon the leaves of the Latanier tree. There was amongst them a man versed in the knowledge of the three doctrines—those of Confucius, of Lao tseu, and Buddha; his name was Wang, and he was a native of Hoei tcheou, and it was he who edited the narrative of the expedition. The narrative is not very detailed; but the accounts of different countries merit the more attention, as they relate to a period at which we have very imperfect ideas respecting the state of the kingdoms situated to the westward of China, and many particulars are found mentioned, of which we have but slight knowledge from other sources."

M. Landresse then indulges in some admirable reflections on the singularity and importance of our finding in Chinese literature these new lights with respect to India, but which my limits will not admit of my detailing. He then adds, that "Fa hian, Soung yun, and Hiuan thsang, had each traversed the same countries at the lapse of a century from each other. Their narratives offer for distinct and well-determined epochs details often similar, but sometimes different; and these compared and discussed, fix very important points in religious chronology, and furnish, respecting the history and geography of Hindústan in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, very valuable information. But the state of Buddhism, and that of all Asia, in Fa hian's time, recommends his narrative peculiarly to our notice, and has occasioned M. Remusat to accord to it a preference over the other two, which it does not owe entirely to its precedence. Then in effect, India seemed (so to use the expression) to have passed its bounds; Buddhism had penetrated everywhere, and at the same time in extending itself to a distance, this religion preserved in the places of its birth, its influence of fourteen hundred years[1].

"In Central India, according to Fa hian, it had lost nothing of its superiority over Brahmanism. If in some countries the Brahmans had banished the practice and ceremonies of Buddhism, the advantages assured to its followers had nevertheless not ceased to exist; and Benares, so renowned in our days as an ancient school of the wisdom of the Brahmans, *was peopled* by *Buddhist priests*. The narrative of Soung yun, and that of Hiuan thsang, on the contrary, prove that the Brahmans had obtained the supremacy in the sixth and

[1] M. Remusat follows the Chinese in the date of Sakya's birth.

seventh centuries, and the consequent decline of their opponents in the central, western, and northern regions of India. In the countries situated beyond the limits of India, other causes had contributed, some to the alteration, and others to the destruction of the Buddhist faith—it had lost a great number of its followers, even before the conquest of Persia by the Arabs; also by the introduction of the religion of Zoroaster into Bokhara; and Hiuan thsang says, that even in his time the dominion of the Turks had altered the manners and assisted to displace the various people inhabiting to the west of the mountains of Tsoung ling[1]; and the submission of the Tartars, and the reunion of the western countries to the empire, after the defeat of the Turks, must some few years afterwards have led to changes equally disastrous.

"The ruin of the power of the Scythians, which modified everything in Asia, had an influence not less remarkable upon the fate of Buddhism. From a long period the country which these people had conquered, as well upon both banks of the Indus as in the western part of China, had acknowledged Buddhist doctrines; but the most part, in changing masters, changed also religion; and the Scythians, dispersed in small tribes, and reduced anew to the erratic lives which their fathers had led, carried throughout in their emigrations, the worship to which they had remained faithful; and which they had everywhere introduced in their invasions. If it be no longer found in the places where they once reigned, it was to be met with in all those places, much more numerous, where they sought a refuge. The Thibetans received it from them; certain Tartar hordes that they joined seem to have had a knowledge of it from that time; in short they may be considered the first to occasion its extension to the countries in the north of Asia, where it is dominant to this day, although everything seemed to oppose its ever being able to penetrate there.

"But to confine ourselves to the countries and the period where it devolves to us to establish what was the condition of Buddhism, we find that in the seventh century it had almost disappeared in the eastern provinces of Persia. A daily diminution took place there in the number of the ecclesiastics; the towers and the abandoned monasteries fell into ruin; the knowledge of the holy books was lost; and the valleys, which at present are inhabited by the Afghans and Beluchis, offered to the veneration and pious curiosity of Hiuan thsang but feeble vestiges of the religion which had been transplanted there, and which Fa hian had there seen so flourishing. Oudyana and Kandahar, where so many holy traditions had been related to

[1] A branch of the Himalaya to the west of Khotan.

Fa hian, furnished only to Hiuan thsang some recollections almost effaced, and he there counted but a very small number of true believers. He thus found himself placed, not less as regarded the object of his travels, than for the information we can derive from them, in less favourable circumstances than his predecessor; his narrative, consequently, although more extended in many respects, is of much less importance than that of Fa hian. There are found in it more legends, and with great prolixity in the details, great pretension in the manner in which they are presented; and, in short, there is not much more of interest, than what relates to countries not described in the *Foë kouë ki.* And with respect to the Eastern countries, the travels of Fa hian offer advantages not less considerable in superior illustrations of their geography, and their political and religious state."

M. Landresse then details the difficulties M. Remusat experienced after the changes that had taken place in Asia, and the lapse of fourteen centuries, in following Fa hian's steps and identifying his names. He states, however, that M. Remusat's vast learning and zealous perseverance enabled him to overcome all his difficulties, and compile a specific geographical memoir, with the reasons for his several deductions, which was read before the Academy of Inscriptions, in Paris, in the end of 1830. The abstract of this memoir is given in M. Remusat's own words.

"I shall offer," said he, "the abstract of the principal facts resulting from the examination of *Foë kouë ki,* and which, previous to the examination, were either uncertain, enveloped in obscurity, or unknown. The particular character of Chinese writers, and their exactitude in matters of chronology, permit of a precision being reached, which is rarely attained by the most profound labours, when they have for their object Indian books[1], of which the date is unknown, and which may be *always suspected of interpolation.* The following eight points may therefore be regarded as *having been reputed facts in China at the commencement of the fifth century of our era.*

"1st. Buddhism was established in Central Tartary,—to the west of the great desert,—in the neighbourhood of the lake of Lob,—amongst the Ouigours,—at Khotan, and in all the small states to the north of the Himalaya mountains. In these tracts were monasteries peopled with Buddhist ecclesiastics; *Indian ceremonies* were celebrated; the Sanskrit[2] language was cultivated; and this language was sufficiently known to be used for the names of places.

[1] He here necessarily means Brahmanical writings, for the Mahawanso was unknown to him.

[2] The Buddhist inscriptions in Pali of several centuries before Christ, both on

"2nd. The same religion was even more flourishing to the west of the Indus, in those states altogether Indian, which now comprise the mountains of Affghanistan, Oudyana, Gandhava, Beloutcha, Tchyoutasira, &c. The Buddhists had carried the pomp of their worship into those countries, and local traditions point them out as the scenes of many passages in the life of Buddha, of his travels, and of the compilation of the sacred texts. An extension so remarkable of the languages *and doctrines of India in the West had not hitherto been suspected. But Fa hian renders the fact* UNQUESTIONABLE; *he makes known the period, and the origin, and supplies to the learned materials which were wanting to explain the confusion and combination of several Oriental doctrines*[1].

"3rd. Central India, that is to say the country on the bank of the Ganges, between the mountains of Nepaul and the rivers Jumna and Gogra, is the birth-place of Buddhism, which has been by mistake attributed to Meridional Bahar. Sakya Muni[2] was born at Kapila, in the neighbourhood of Oude and Lucknow. His father was a prince of this country, and tributary to the king of Magadha[3], who resided at Pataliputra[4]. All his ministry was accomplished to the north of the Ganges, in the provinces of Oude, Benares, and Northern Bahar; and he finished his career to the north of Patna, in the neighbourhood of the mountains of Nepaul.

"4th. Originating in Central India, Buddhism had there preserved, in opposition to Brahmanism, a sort of *political superiority. Traditions carried it back as far as the tenth century before our era; and monuments, of which some still subsist, and others in ruins, confirm the testimony of those traditions!*

"5th. Buddhism had penetrated into Bengal, and as far as the mouths of the Ganges.

"6th. We are satisfied also that the same religion had penetrated, *in very ancient times*, into the Dekkan; and there exist there, from that period, excavations in the form of *temples, the construction of which is carried back to epochs so remote, as to be comprised within the age of fable.*

"7th. Buddhism was dominant in Ceylon, and its ceremonies

monuments and coins, and the Mahawanso, were not known to M. Remusat, or he might have qualified this assertion respecting the Sanskrit language, particularly as inscriptions in pure Sanskrit are *entirely wanting* down to the period of which he is speaking.

[1] The *Pali* inscriptions on many of the coins found in Affghanistan, together with their *Buddhist emblems*, attest the truth of Fa hian.

[2] Buddha. [3] Bahar.

[4] Patna; but this is a mistake of M. Remusat. The monarch resided at Rajagaha, the city of Pataliputto [Pali] being founded afterwards.

and worship were there celebrated with magnificence. Its sacred books were also met with there; and, at the moment of Fa hian's voyage, they counted 1497 years since the *Nirvana* [extinction] of Sakya Muni [Buddha]! These facts should be added to those which Messieurs Burnouf and Lassen have so well discussed for fixing the period of the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon.

"8th. It was attempted in all parts of India, by studying the sacred tongues, to complete the collection and to promote a knowledge of the religious texts. A great number were obtained in the province of Oude, at Patna, at Benares, in Bengal, and in Ceylon. And *on no occasion is mention made of the difference which should exist in the dialect of these texts, supposing they were written in Sanskrit and Pali*[1]." So far M. Remusat; and M. Landresse adds—

"The search for these books, the study of the different idioms in which they were compiled, and the knowledge of the doctrines and the facts they contained, were, with visits to holy places, the motives for the long pilgrimage undertaken by Fa hian. He returned rich in theological facts, and in edifying memorials; and the details that he gives, respecting the titles and the subjects of the volumes he had procured, show that the collection was not less choice than numerous. Scarcely had he arrived in China, than his first care was to make the Buddhist priests profit by the riches that he brought, and the knowledge that he had acquired. He would not see his native place, he would not take repose, until this last duty was fulfilled. In place of going to Tchhang an, he went to Nanking, where, with the assistance of a LEARNED INDIAN, named Pa lo thsan, he embarked in the labours of digestion and criticism, no doubt relative to the religious treatises and to the precepts he had collected, and which may have given rise to the great translation of the books of the Legislator of Upper Asia, in 192,000 verses, which was finished three or four years afterwards [about A.D. 418], and in which Fa hian probably took part. This much is certain, that he did not write the narrative of his travels until the accession of the dynasty of Soung, and consequently subsequent to the year A.D. 419. It was reviewed and republished under the dynasty of Ming, by Houtchin heng and Maothsin. This edition is the one which has served us[2]; it belongs to the king's library at Paris, and formed part of a collection of dissertations on different subjects of philosophy, history, and literature, and which M. Remusat compared to the memoirs of the academies or learned

[1] *Amongst the numerous inscriptions discovered there is not one single* BUDDHIST *text, for centuries after Fa hian's time, in* SANSKRIT.

[2] Messrs. Remusat, Klaproth, and Landresse.

societies of Europe; and which Fourmont had taken for a collection of treatises on magic and the art of divination. Such is the reputation which the *Foë kouë ki* enjoys in China, that there is no repository of science and learning that does not contain fragments of it, if not the entire work. Its authority stands foremost in geographical and historical works that treat of foreign nations; and it is quoted in the dictionary of Kang-hi, the articles of which are filled with notices borrowed from the best writers.

"The style of Fa hian is simple and concise, and M. Remusat was particularly desirous in his translation to preserve its originality and naïveté. A translation more literal than elegant was necessary to preserve the *character of good faith and veracity which is observable in the least expressions, and which each word, indeed, appears to carry with it.* As an example; his phraseology, when he speaks of a country where he has been, is always 'from such a place, one arrives at such a place,' using the indefinite personal pronoun to designate himself; whilst in speaking of a country where he had not been, he says 'at such a distance there is such a town.' His narrative was written to gratify his master, Kieou ma lo chi, and at the entreaties of his fraternity, who were anxious to preserve the memory of adventures so extraordinary, and of travels so meritorious. Although credulous, he was so scrupulous as an observer, that he has not invented one of the fables which are mixed up in his narrative. In his researches he was guided by a sentiment which does not admit of inexactitude, namely conscientious superstition: thus he has not embellished a single fact, nor concealed a single circumstance, even when it might have been his interest to embellish or suppress. That which he had seen he details with the same fidelity with which he recounts all that had been related to him, carefully distinguishing however that, in the latter case the testimony is not his own. If his details be compared with those of other travellers, both Chinese and Western, who passed over the same countries, several centuries after him, new reasons will be found for believing in his sincerity. He owed it to the habit that he bore, and to the pious motives that sustained him in his enterprise, to see things as he has seen them, and to describe them as he has described them. Devoted to the obligations of his mission, his attention was most occupied by the miracles or prodigies of which the memory is perpetuated in certain places, the relics preserved at those places, the ceremonies in use, the temples and monasteries erected, and the number of ecclesiastics who attended the former and occupied the latter."

M. Landresse then proceeds to say that his enthusiasm and exal-

tation were not able to extinguish his feelings, to control his impressions, or to conceal the weaknesses of the man; and these weaknesses endear him to us, give us a greater sympathy for his person, and interest us the more in his words and his deeds. In speaking of his sufferings, there is not any exaggeration; but his language is characterized by modesty and humility. Fa hian says:—"In recapitulating what I have experienced, my heart throbs involuntarily; but the fears that had shaken me in my perils are not the causes of that emotion. This frame has een preserved by the sentiments that animated me. It was the end I had in view that made me hazard my life in countries where its preservation was uncertain, at all risks in short, to attain that which was the object of my hope."

"The description of the dangers from which he escaped in traversing the almost impracticable passes of the Indian Caucasus,—the tears that he shed on his companion sinking amidst the snows of the Himalaya,—the emotion that he experienced at Ceylon in meeting one of his countrymen,—his description of his voyage, and his fears during the tempest, and many other passages, offer most touching traits of his candour and of his genuine sensibility."

One of these, I cannot refrain from relating, not only to the credit of Fa hian's heart, but as it testifies to the universality of a sentiment, common to humanity in all ages and all climates, "the fond remembrance of home." Fa hian was at Ceylon, he had then been many years from China; all those with whom he had been connected were strangers to him; the mountains, the rivers, the trees, and the plants, all in fact that had met his eyes was new. He had long been separated from his original companions; some had left him, and some were dead; and his feelings of isolation, when he looked back, always filled his heart with sadness. With these impressions upon him, he was one day in the great temple of Buddha at Ceylon; when suddenly a merchant presented to the statue of Buddha a white silk fan, the manufacture of China. His country, and his home, with all their endearing recollections, instantly took possession of his mind, overwhelmed him with emotion, and his eyes filled with tears which coursed down his cheeks! it was the memory of home upon him! I trust the lengthened extracts I have given from M. Landresse's eloquent introduction to the *Foë kouë ki*, will neither be deemed superfluous nor uninteresting. It was quite necessary to depict Fa hian in his natural colours, for the deductions and inferences from the facts he narrates will be influenced by a just estimate of his character for honesty, truth, simplicity, and benevolence. A knowledge of the state of Buddhism

in India, at the time of his arrival, was equally necessary, as a basis on which to raise questions with respect to the relation in which other religions, then existing in India, stood to Buddhism. It only remains to offer a few observations touching some popular impressions.

The year Fa hian was in Ceylon was reckoned by the Ceylonese the 1497th from the death[1] of Sakya Muni, who is usually looked upon as the *founder* of Buddhism; but so far from this being the case, Sakya Muni was the fourth Buddha of the actual age or second division of the Kappo; and whatever may be thought of the two first, whether apocryphal or not, Sakya Muni's immediate predecessor, Kasyapa[2], despite of the absurd chronology and fables in which he is involved, would appear to have had a positive existence according to the belief of the Buddhists of the fourth century. For Fa hian not only repeatedly makes mention of his birth, life, and ministry, but absolutely describes[3] a great tower in Oude, in the neighbourhood of Rama's celebrated city, Ayodhya, which *contained his entire bones*. But the most remarkable of the proofs is in Fa hian mentioning, from his personal knowledge[4], Buddhist sectaries then existing, who honoured the memory of the *three* Buddhas preceding Sakya Muni, and refused these honours to Sakya Muni, said to be the *founder* of Buddhism! There is also something stronger than a presumption of the existence of Buddhism previous to Sakya Muni's ministry, in a passage of his life[5]. In his youth he was always melancholy and reflective; and the king his father adopted various means to dissipate his seriousness: amongst other devices, he had recourse to sending him on various excursions from the city accompanied by a suitable cavalcade. But in all these excursions, he met with something which strengthened his distaste for the vanities of life, and made him more contemplative than ever, a supernatural being in fact, counteracting the designs of the king, the parent of the future Sakya Muni. On one occasion the cavalcade quitted the city by the northern gate; and the supernatural being met Sakya Muni in the form of a Samanéen or Buddhist priest. Following the words of the history, he [the Buddhist priest] wore the dress prescribed by the law[6], he carried his begging pipkin, moving on foot, and tranquilly examining before him, neither turning his eyes to the right nor to the left. "Who is this?" said the young prince. His

[1] *Nirvana* in Sanskrit, *Nibutti* in Pali, which will make Buddha the contemporary of the prophet Samuel in Palestine.

[2] Page 197. [3] Page 176. [4] Page 175. [5] Page 207.

[6] The Buddhist clergy wore a particular dress, and shaved the beard and head; p. 9.

attendants replied that it was a Samanéen. "And what is a Samanéen?" demanded he. "The Samanéens," said they, "are those who practise the doctrine; they abandon their houses, their wives, and their children; they renounce all tender desires; they suppress the six affections; they observe the precepts, and by contemplation having attained simplicity of heart, they extinguish all impurities. He who has simplicity of heart, is called 'Arhan.' The Arhan is the true man: nor praise, nor censure, move him; dignities cannot corrupt or turn him; he is firm as the earth; he is delivered from affliction and grief; and living or dying, he is master of himself[1]."

Here not only is a Buddhist priest seen by the supposed *founder* of Buddhism; but its chief features are described to him as being known. The constant wish of the king his father was to engage his son in secular affairs, and he consulted with his ministers, how he was to be prevented from studying the "*Doctrine*," which meant the precepts and principles of Buddhism; but the son was resolved to follow his own inclinations. He accordingly embraced a religious life, passed through the gradations of purity, and became *a* Buddha, not *the* Buddha. It may be said these passages in the life of Sakya Muni are inventions; but what right have we with our limited knowledge to pronounce those things inventions, which are proved by Fa Hian to have constituted the belief of millions more than fourteen hundred years ago? Sakya himself, in a sermon at Benares, speaks of former Buddhas—page 68; and at page 285, the Buddhas of past times are referred to, as well as at page 229, where it is said the doctrine of relics "S'arira" is for the vulgar only; meaning the relics of former Buddhas. The Chinese words are Che li, which M. Klaproth considers equivalent to the Sanskrit S'arira[2].

But the fact is, that if the Brahmans claim the institution of Brahmanism from the origin of time, the Buddhists are not a whit behind them in similar claims to antiquity for their faith. And the puerile absurdity of the one party in their calculations is fully balanced by the puerile absurdity in the calculations of the other party. The Brahmans divide a cycle of time, it is well known, into four Yugas, which cycles commence, progress, and terminate *ad*

[1] From the *Chin i tian;* Book 77, p. 24, 28. P. 207 of Fa hian.

[2] By using Sanskrit terms as the equivalents of Chinese words, M. Klaproth does not assert that Sakya preached in Sanskrit or used the Sanskrit language. It is probably owing to his unacquaintance with Pali that he does so; for as all *ancient* Buddhist scripture, and as all *ancient* Buddhist inscriptions are in Pali, the inference would rather be that Sakya used the Pali language.

infinitum; and it would puzzle the arithmetic of the intuitive arithmeticians that have appeared in the world to determine the number of years comprised in these periods. Moreover, the most liberal geologist, with his millions of ages, would sigh to think how far he fell short of them. The Buddhists divide a *cycle* of time, which is called a Kappo[1], into two parts: the first is called that of "Miracles," or wonders; and the second, or present age, that of "Wise Men," or philosophers[2]. In the age of Miracles 1000 Buddhas are supposed to have appeared, and the names of twenty-four are recorded in the Ceylon Buddhist Scriptures, the *Pitakattya* including those of the present age, and their parentage, and birth places are mentioned. In the present, or age of "Wise Men," four Buddhas have appeared, namely, Krakoutchchhanda, the 1st; Kanaka Muni, the 2nd; Kasyapa, the 3rd; and Sakya Muni, the 4th. Maitraya is the next to appear, and then in succession 995 others to complete the end of the cycle[3]; which then commences again. The chronological fables involved in these periods will be understood by a passage relating to the life of Kanaka Muni, who is supposed to have belonged to the present cycle. It says, "He was born at the period when human life was *reduced* to 40,000 years, that is to say, 3,714,000 years ago!" But this is a trifle to what M. Klaproth calls a curious legend, where mention is made of a Buddha (Avalokitiswara) who lived a hundred quadrillions of tens of quadrillions of *Kappos*, or cycles, ago (p. 121). With these parallel and antagonist claims to antiquity by the Buddhists and Brahmans, it does not appear that any jealousy existed on the part of the Buddhists; for this very Kanaka Muni is said by the Buddhists to have been born through a Brahman family honoured by the kings of the country.

Another of the prevalent opinions involving an aspersion of the Buddhist character is, that their doctrine makes them atheists. But the fact is, they believe in the unity of the Godhead, and *in a future state of rewards and punishments;* and they have heavens and hells[4] enough of all degrees and qualities; from the lowest of the former of which they can progress by their acts into higher beatitudes, or fall

[1] The Nepaulese division of a cycle into four Yugas, as mentioned by Mr. Hodgson, is said by M. Klaproth to be borrowed from the Brahmans. P. 196.

[2] Its duration is 236,000,000 years, of which, 151,200,000 are passed; p. 357.

[3] Page 197.

[4] Sixteen hells, (p. 70,) and eighteen heavens, (p. 145.) At p. 296 and 299, not less than sixteen chief hells (eight hot, and eight cold) are enumerated, and sixteen minor hells, through all which the guilty pass until they have expiated their offences. My authorities are the commentaries of MM. Remusat and Klaproth.

from their elevated stations, Lucifer-like, into the realms of suffering and woe, and from these they can extricate themselves by their repentance and aspirations after perfectibility[1]. Existence, therefore, with the Buddhists, is a state of probation, until perfectibility be attained; this perfectibility involves the absorption of the spirit into the essence of the Divinity, and which is only attained by the Buddhas. With the exception, therefore, of the fragment of the minutest fraction of the whole number of transmigrating souls, the whole are in a probationary state, in the heavens, hells, or on the *earth;* for as the Buddhists, like the Brahmans, believe in the metempsychosis, souls appear upon earth in human or other bodies; and in the ministry of Sakya Muni, he tells his disciples, in a sermon preached at Benares, his auditors being the Buddhist priesthood and the Buddhist population, *Brahmans, Brahma himself,* and the *four rulers of the skies, Indra, Yama,* &c., p. 67, not only of the states he passed through on earth and in heaven, but says that his progress to perfectibility was retarded by his own acts, when in his transmigrations; and [2]amongst his tribulations upon earth, even after he had attained the rank of Buddha, was that of being charged by a young lady of incontinence with her. Atheism therefore cannot justly be charged against Buddhism in its origin, whatever may be said against some of its comparatively modern sectaries, for the belief in a future state of rewards and punishments necessarily implies the belief in the existence of a Being to reward and punish. It will be observed that these views of Buddhism are collected from the elaborate commentaries on Fa hian, and are not my own.

It would appear that the gradations from the simple layman to the becoming a Buddha are the following: Samanéan, Arhan, Srawaka, Pratyeka Buddha, Boddhisattva, and Buddha[3]; but they may be ages, and pass through multiplied transmigrations and infinite cycles of time, in securing their promotion from one gradation to another. On earth the ecclesiastics are classed into two great bodies, as they aim at transporting the soul to the *minor* or *major* degrees of perfection by studying *morality* or *metaphysics.* At least this is the *briefest* manner in which I can explain my idea of Klaproth's "petite translation" and "grande translation." Those who had embraced a religious life, whichever translation they belonged to, were divided into two classes, the mendicants and the inhabitants of monasteries; some of which monasteries were of such prodigious extent as to accommodate 3000 monks. The stupendous excavations in the trap-rocks at Ajanta, Ellora, Junar,

[1] Page 138. [2] Pages 279, 174 and 184. [3] Pages 9—11.

Karleh, and in Salsette, show us that these monasteries consisted of a chapel or chapels, common halls or refectories, with sleeping-cells around them, numerous isolated sleeping-cells, reservoirs for water, and generally with a tall pillar or pillars before the chapel, surmounted by the figure of a lion; and a characteristic of Buddhist works of art was the accompaniment of inscriptions in the Pali language. Females were permitted by Sakya Muni, after some reluctance, to embrace a religious life, under strict regulations respecting their conduct.

The practical precepts of Buddhism are represented to be the following; and they are divided into *major* and *minor;* the former are five in number[1], namely, 1st, not to kill anything with life; 2nd, not to steal; 3rd, not to commit adultery; 4th, not to tell untruths; and 5th, not to drink wine. These are in relation with the five active virtues, namely, humanity, prudence, justice, sincerity, and temperance. The *minor* precepts are also five:—1st, not to assume elevated seats; 2nd, not to use flowers or ribands upon the dress; 3rd, not to indulge in singing, dancing, or *comedies;* 4th, not to wear ornaments or jewels on the hands; and 5th, not to eat after mid-day or noon. These evidently inculcate humility and self-control. In addition, there are 250 regulations, which it is necessary that those who embrace a religious life should observe.

At page 147 it is stated that there are five rules of conduct, which, if rigidly pursued, entitle man to be born amongst the superior intelligences [Devas—in Pali "Dewo"], namely, 1st, to have a compassionate heart, and not to kill anything having life, but to take pity on them;—2nd, to pursue wisdom; not to take the property of another; to be charitable; to eschew avarice; and to contribute to the wants of the necessitous;—3rd, to be pure, and refrain from voluptuousness, to guard the precepts, and keep the fast[2];—4th, to be sincere, and not to deceive another; to be free from the four sins of the mouth, namely, lying, affectation in language, duplicity, and calumny; and never to flatter;—5th, to obey the law, and walk steadily in the *Brahmanical* path[3]; and not to drink liquors that intoxicate or disturb the reason[4].

[1] Page 104.

[2] Observer le jeune.

[3] The term here used, does not mean following Brahmanical tenets, but is applied in its literal signification, "Walking in Purity;" the Brahmans having assumed to themselves that name from the term Brahmana, p. 186. The same view is taken of the word in a paper printed in the third vol. of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, being a disputation respecting cast; in which it is asserted that he is the *true Brahman, whatever his cast may be,* who practises virtue, and is pure.

[4] Page 148.

Salvation is here made dependent, not upon the practice of idle ceremonies, or the repeating prayers, or hymns, or invocations to pretended gods, but upon moral qualifications, which constitute individual and social happiness on earth, and insure it hereafter.

Of the philosophical and metaphysical doctrines of Buddhism, of which most ample details are given in the remarkable commentaries of Remusat, Klaproth, and Landresse, I must go so far as to make mention, that in Sakya Muni's time, as well as at the period of Fa hian's travels, there appear to have been sectaries amongst the Buddhists, independently of the Brahmans and others, the whole being denominated *heretics*. I will confine myself to the narrowest condensation of the details I find in the commentaries[1]; but this digest is necessary to afford definite ideas respecting the religious state of India in the centuries before and after the Christian era. There were six principal arch-heretics emanating from the heresy of Kapila.

1st. Fou lan na: his mother's name being Kasyapa, it became his family name. His heresy consisted in annihilating all laws; he admitted neither prince nor subject, neither father nor son, neither rectitude of heart nor filial piety; and he had some mystification about "void," "vacuum," or "ether" being paramount.

2nd. Mo kia li: he falsely believed that the good and evil of mankind did not result from previous action, but were accidental. His doctrine, therefore, was that of chance.

3rd. Sanjaya [recta victoria] his mother's name being Vairagi [non agens]. His heresy consisted in believing that it was not necessary to search for the doctrine in the sacred books; but that it would come spontaneously when the ages of births and deaths had been passed through. He also believed that after 80,000 Kalpas the doctrine was obtained without effort.

4th. Khin pho lo [Kambala, meaning coarse garments], who maintained that destiny could be forced, namely, that happiness could be obtained which did not result from a previous existence. The practice of this doetrine consisted in wearing coarse garments, tearing out the hair, exposing the nostrils to smoke, and the various parts of the body to fire; in short, subjecting the body to every kind of cruel penance, in the conviction that sufferings on earth would insure happiness hereafter.

5th. Kia lo kieou tho [ox-like[2]], the family name being Kia tchin yan [shaven hair]. His heresy consisted in asserting that some of the laws were appreciable by the senses, and some not.

[1] Page 149.

[2] Encolure de bœuf.

6th. Ni Kian tho [exempt from ties] is a common name for heterodox ecclesiastics; but Ni Kian tho's heresy consisted in maintaining that sins and virtues, and good and evil, equally resulted from destiny; and that the practice of the doctrine could not save any one from his fate.

In addition, there were seven mistaken views of the doctrine, such as referring the origin of things to the god Brahma, or to atoms; the belief in finality, the belief that covering the body with cinders, and exposing it to the sun or fire, sleeping on thorns, was meritorious, &c., &c. Then there were the partisans of the doctrine of numbers [Sankhya], the unum and the diversum, some maintaining one, some the other. In some of the legends of the life of Sakya Muni, but apparently of a comparatively modern date, mention is made of his own and his disciples' controversies with ninety-five heretical sects; but these are reducible to eleven; of which the books, the instruction, and the uses, were diffused in the *West*.

1. The first of these are the Sectaries, who believe in the doctrine of numbers, [Sankhya,] involving the acknowledgment of twenty-five principles or realities, which are the cause of nature, and as having formed all beings. The invention is attributed to Kapila.

2. The second are the Wei chi, Vaishesika, a word signifying "without superior." The founder appeared on earth 800 years before Buddha; he was a great composer of verses on the subject of the "doctrine," and he attained the "Nirvana" in spite of some heresies about "substance," "quality," "action," the unum et diversum, and other matters[1].

3. The third are those Sectaries [vibhuti,] who cover themselves with cinders, and imagine that the sixth god of the "*world of Desires*," the god Iswara, has created all things.

4. The Sectaries of the Vedas believe that Narayana has created the four families; that from his mouth came the Brahmans, from his two arms the Kshatryas, from his thighs the Vaisyas, or merchants, and from his feet the Sudras[2].

5. The partisans of Anda, [the egg.] These believed in a first principle; that at the origin of the world, all was water; then the first principle appeared in the form of an egg, which divided into two parts, the upper part became the sky, and the lower the earth; and between the two, Brahma appeared with power to produce all

[1] Page 153.

[2] See page 186, at which the Kshatryas are said to spring from Brahma's navel, and the Vaisyas from his arms.

beings animate or inanimate, [organic and inorganic matters,] without exception: they considered therefore Brahma as the Creator and Lord; and by another error they believed him immortal[1].

6. The Sectaries who believed in "time," that is to say, that beings are produced by time. They say that plants, and trees, and other vegetables, have their time for flowering and fruiting, and for shutting and opening; for putting forth leaves or for withering, and they infer therefore that time has an existence; although it must be a thing infinitely subtile and invisible.

7. The Sectaries who believe that space is the principle of things. Space or extension, according to them, is able to produce men, the heavens and the earth, and after their extinction, they re-enter into space.

8. The Laokika [Atomists?] who believe that form and mind [or thought] and other laws (of Nature,) are infinitely subtile principles: they believe that these principles spring from the elements; that the subtile may engender the palpable; and that form, although infinitely subtile, is nevertheless a substance; that the palpable beings of the world are perishable; but that the subtile causes are indestructible.

9. The Sectaries [ore fortes[2]] who believe that æther or void is the principle of all things: that from the æther comes the wind, from wind fire, and from fire heat; heat produces water, and water ice, hardened ice constitutes the earth, the earth produces the five kinds of grains, and these produce life. At death the soul returns to æther[3].

10. The sect of those who believe that happiness or punishment follow the acts of life, who believe that living beings are recompensed or punished according to their acts. If an individual observes the precepts, and practises virtue, those evils which the body and soul suffer, efface all anterior actions; and when body and soul are destroyed, all sufferance ceases, and the individual can attain to "Nirvana."

11. The Sectaries who do not admit of "First Cause," but assert that everything is fortuitous; who argue that "beings" have no dependence on the past, or connexion with the future; that everything appears and disappears of itself.

[1] Vide Sanskrit inscription in a temple of Siva at Chhatarpoor, Bundelcund, dated A.D. 962, and renewed A.D. 1016, in which nearly the same heresy is recounted. *Journal A. S., B.*, No. 87, p. 160.

[2] Forts de la bouche.

[3] The *Ramayana*, (book 2, sect. 47, p. 32,) has nearly the same absurdities, though not just in the same order.

In addition to the preceding, there are nine points in which heretics are in error, relating to form, affinity, cause, effect, vice, nature, destiny, and action; and there are no less than twenty heresies or ways in which they deceive themselves with respect to Nirvana, or extinction; all of which are minutely detailed. One of them has a very curious passage, seeming to imply that *offerings of animals were anciently made to Brahma;* it says, "The heretics who follow the Vedas, believe that from Narayana springs Brahma, who created all beings, and all the earths; whence offerings are made to him of flowers and plants, as well as victims, such as *hogs*, sheep, asses, horses, &c.[1]" Mention also is made of the heretics who *go naked*, and believe that a clear and distinct perception of the nature of things is "Nirvana." Those also who pinned their faith upon a woman, believing that Maha Iswara formed a woman, who gave birth to gods and men, &c. Distinct mention is made of those heretics who believed in Narayana, who said of himself, "It is I that have made everything; I am the being superior to all beings; I created the worlds; and from me spring the living and the dead; and when they return to another place, that is called "Nirvana." The fifteenth heresy is that of the followers of Maha Iswara, who assert that in reality Brahma produced Narayana; that these two are sovereign gods and lords, and from them come birth and death, &c.

Independently of heretical opinions, some of the Sectaries believe in the efficacy of six sorts of penances, or mortifications to insure recompense.

1. To subject themselves to hunger and thirst.
2. To plunge into cold springs.

[1] The accuracy of the Buddhist statements is testified by the fact that in the *Ramayana*, [the Hindu Sacred Epic Poem,] in several places mention is made of the offering of animals, even to the *cow*. Sita, on passing the Ganges, going into exile, says, "O Goddess, having returned to the palace, I will offer to thee 1000 jars of spirituous liquors, and rice mixed with *flesh*," (book 2, Sect. 40,) and in the funeral obsequies of the father of Rama, a purified animal was slain and thrown on the pile: the cow and her calf were offered, and ghee, and oil, and *flesh* were scattered on all sides.—(Book 2, sect. 61.) On this occasion not one of King Dasaratha's 350 wives and concubines became Sati, nor are they reproached for not immolating themselves. But carnivorous propensities were not confined to the gods and the departed; for the hermit sage Bharadiraja, who, by the bye, was a Brahman at Allahabad, gives Bharata, the brother of Rama, and his innumerable army a sumptuous dinner, consisting of roast and boiled; venison, peacocks, partridges, mutton, and *pork!* accompanied with appropriate sauces; the whole being washed down with potent spirit!—(Book 2, sect. 77, p. 301.) So much for the anti-carnivorous Hindus. It appears also that anciently the blood or flesh of the cow was a component of the Mudhao, an offering.—(Note on book 2, sect. 42.)

3. To submit to the cautery in various parts of the body, and to breathe burning vapours through the nose.

4. To remain perpetually seated, naked, and exposed to cold and heat.

5. To select burial places, and funeral groves as a residence, and to remain perpetually silent.

6. To eat grass and herbs, and to drink impure water, pretending to have been an ox, or dog, &c., in a former state[1].

To the above are to be added five doubts to which the heretics are inclined. They doubt about Buddha; they doubt about the law; whether that of Buddha or that of the Vedas be the best.—The Vedas, the title of which means a "SCIENTIFIC DISCOURSE," being compositions filled with the false *science* of the heretics; they have doubts about the clergy, [sanga,] not knowing whether the disciples of Buddha, or those of Fou lan na[2] merit the preference; whence they do not believe in the three jewels, Buddha, Dharma, and Sanga[3], [Buddha, the Law, and the Clergy.] They doubt the precepts, and question whether standing on one leg like a fowl, or drinking dirty water like a dog, and subjecting themselves to austerities, are not as efficacious as true belief; and finally, they doubt the truth of the instructions; that is to say, they are balanced between the doctrine of Buddha and that of Fou lan na[4].

But according to the celebrated Seng tchao, *it was not until about eight hundred years after the death of Buddha, or about two hundred and eighty-four years before Christ*[5], *that the heretics began to multiply,* and several violent sects arose, which induced

[1] *San tsang fa sou*, book 22, verse 12, a Buddhist work containing the numbers of the law of the three collections of sacred books, answering in Sanskrit to *Tri pit'aka dharma Sankhya*, p. 109. The *Pitakattya* of Ceylon would appear to be the same.

[2] Page 159. This would seem to imply that the two leading parties in religious opinions, were those of the Buddhists, and the followers of Fou lan na, or the Atheists, whose family name in Sanscrit was Kasyapa, from his mother. No reference is had here to Brahmanical opinions as taking the lead; or to the Brahmans being other than what Fa hian describes them, as the principal amongst the tribes of Barbarians! At this period they were probably viewed as the foreigners Professor Wilson and others admit them to have been, although placing them in an earlier age.

[3] In Pali called Buddho, Dhammo, and Sangiti.

[4] Here again is no reference to Brahmanism as the great antagonist doctrine.

[5] This would be in the third century A.D. 257, if 543 B.C. be taken as the date of the death of Buddha, instead of the Chinese era, and would correspond with the decline of Buddhism during which the visits to India of Fa hian and Hiuan Thsang took place.

Deva Bodhisattwa to compose his book, called the hundred discourses, in defence of truth, and to stop the progress of error.

The above extracts, although considerably abridged from the originals, are lengthy; nevertheless they are necessary to show the early religious state of India, and are certainly curious, as they possibly illustrate the philosophical and metaphysical speculations of men between two and three thousand years ago, and no doubt do so for periods between the first and fourth centuries of our era. One fact is sufficiently remarkable, that in the minute and multiplied details of all the heresies of the followers of Buddha or Brahma, no mention whatever is made, directly or indirectly, of the worship of the Linga, the votaries of which now divide the Hindu world with the Vaishnavas, or followers of Vishnu. Neither Fa hian in the fourth, nor Hiuan Thsang in the seventh century, speak of this worship, although they do not omit to notice even *isolated* temples of the heretics when they fall in with them in their travels; and, in consequence, the question may fairly be raised whether the persecuting, blood-stained, and obscene sect of Saivas, [*followers of Mahadeva,*] had at the beginning of the seventh century sprung into notice, much less into power[1]. But I shall have occasion to refer to the subject again in my summary. It may be even doubted whether the present Vaishnavas will strictly come under any of the denominations of heretics in the preceding details, which would leave Brahma, Indra, Iswara, [not Siva,] and some minor gods as the objects of the *ancient* worship of the people we now call Hindus; but which worship has been entirely superseded by that to Siva and Vishnu, and other gods of more recent adoption than them.

I now introduce Fa hian to speak for himself, so far as relates to the object I have in view in these notes. I have little to do with his route before he touches the Indus: it has been most ably commented on by Professor Wilson, and I will only state that Fa hian found the whole of the nations, people, or tribes, between the frontiers of China and the Indus, followers of Buddha, and ruled by Buddhist princes or chiefs. At Khotan, the worship was celebrated with extraordinary magnificence; and the procession of Buddha on his pyramidal car, the showering of flowers, the draught of the car by the people, and other circumstances, recall to mind the annual Hindu

[1] Professor Wilson says, "It is highly probable that of the *present popular forms* of the Hindu religion, *none assumed* their *actual state earlier* than the time of Sankara Acharya, the great Saiva reformer, who flourished in all likelihood in the eighth or ninth century." Preface to *Vishnu Purana*, p. 10. This opinion, therefore, is in thorough accordance with the testimony of the Chinese travellers.

procession at Jaggarnath, whose temple probably is founded on the site of that great chaitya which previously had contained one of Buddha's teeth; the Buddhists, however, had the advantage, at all times, in their worship, subsequent to the edicts of Asoka, being celebrated without the sacrifice of one drop of blood, or the injury of any animated creature whatever; whilst the other, alas, witnesses the self-immolation of sentient beings.

Chy Fa Hian, or familiarly, Fa hian, which is an adopted significant monastic name, meaning "manifestation of the Law," set out from his home, in company with other pilgrims, in the year 399 of our era. He does not dilate in his descriptions of the countries he passes through, nor enlarge on the manners and customs of their inhabitants; but he has few chapters in which there are not brief notices on all these points, of considerable interest. The account of the desert in the first chapter; of the country in the neighbourhood of the lake of Lob, and of the manners and dress of the inhabitants, in the second chapter; the lawless and inhospitable spirit of the Ouijours, &c., are of this kind; and I will take occasion to point out other similar instances.

In the kingdom of Chen Chen, now Leou lan, in the neighbourhood of the Lake of Lob, Fa hian says, the king was a Buddhist, that there were 4000 ecclesiastics, and that the laity, as well as the clergy, followed the law of *India,* meaning Buddhism; and from hence, proceeding westward, all the kingdoms more or less resembled that of Chen Chen, excepting that each had its own barbarous language; but that the ecclesiastics all applied themselves to the study of the *books of India* and the *language of India.* But Fa hian nowhere makes a distinction between Sanskrit and Pali; and as he speaks in the singular number, a question may be raised whether more than one sacred language existed; and as it *has been found* that the *most ancient* inscriptions *all* relate to Buddhism, and are in the Pali dialect, it necessarily results that Fa hian means the *Pali* when he speaks of the *language of India.* The Indian words adopted by the Chinese in their writings, owing to their orthography, lose the idiomatic distinctions between the Sanskrit and Pali, so that it is not possible to say whether they belong to the one or the other idiom; but nowhere do the Chinese speak of more than one Indian language, which they call Fan, in which the Buddhist doctrines were written, and through the medium of which they were taught even in China, although derived from Hindustan. This is a very curious fact; for as it will be seen from Fa hian's narrative that the kingdoms or states of Hindustan after leaving the Jumna were all Buddhist, and as all the ancient Buddhist inscriptions, of many centuries' anterior date

to the period of Fa hian's visit from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, and from Cuttack to Gujarat, are found to be in the Pali idiom; and as there are not any Sanskrit inscriptions of equally early date, the doubt is strengthened with respect to the simultaneous use of the two idioms at that early period. That the idiom [sacred or common] in which the Buddhist doctrine was promulgated, was common over India, is testified by the fact, that Fa hian had no difficulty in communicating with the clergy wherever he went: his object was to copy the sacred writings, and had those of the north and of the south of India been written in different dialects, he scarcely could have failed to notice the fact. M. Klaproth says that the language of India alluded to by Fa hian was probably the Sanskrit, as it is unknown whether the books of the Buddhists were written in Pali at that time. But the inscriptions in Pali, of a long anterior date, many of them containing sacred texts, establish the fact that Pali was in use; but of the existence of these inscriptions M. Klaproth was not aware, or the supposition put forth by him might not have been advanced.

It appears also, that the character used in these inscriptions, although for so long a period not deciphered, is simply the antique form of the modern Deva Nagari; each modern Sanskrit letter being traceable, letter by letter, into the ancient Pali letters, and it may be supposed that Sanskrit itself has had its modifications and ameliorations, and, like all other languages, was somewhat ruder, and less diffuse and polished in its early use, than at subsequent periods. The word "Sanskrit," meaning "polished," "finished," "done," implies that some ruder material was handled before it was polished into the remarkable language now known as Sanskrit, while the word *Pali* means "*root,*" "*original.*" In fact, we have no proof that the Sanskrit existed at this period, and we have ample proofs that the Pali did. Indeed the Vedas themselves, in *very ancient* copies, are said to be in a dialect unintelligible[1] to modern Brahmans.

Languages, like humanity and states, have their periods of birth, infancy, vigour, decline, and extinction; and their duration is affected by political events. We ask what has become of several of those of antiquity, and by what means is it that others have taken their places? The forcible, comprehensive, and manly English, at the period at which it is a question whether Pali and Sanskrit existed

[1] Professor Wilson, who does not go quite so far, says, "the language in which the prayers [of the Vedas] are written differs much, both in words and construction, from the Sanskrit of later writings." *Oxford Lectures*, No 1. p. 8.

simultaneously, was not in existence, and the same may be said of the Spanish, Italian, modern Greek, and other languages. Is it Sanskrit alone, then, that has an immutable character? Of the unstable nature of languages, we need no further proof than in the English of Chaucer, and the French of Rabelais and Froissart.

Fa hian next arrives at Khotan, which he describes as a flourishing and happy kingdom, the people living amidst great abundance, all honouring the law [of Buddha] which, he says, is the cause of their prosperity. There were several times ten thousand ecclesiastics in the country, and the people all built towers, or pillars, or Tumuli[1], before their doors, the shortest of which was twelve feet high[2]. This religious observance accounts for the stone pillar which is left standing before most of the excavated Buddha cave-temples in the Deccan.

The King of Khotan lodged Fa hian in a monastery in which were living three thousand monks; all of whom ate their food in common at a given signal; and he gives an interesting account of the grave and decorous manner in which the meal was conducted. There were fourteen large monasteries in the kingdom, and the smaller ones were too numerous to count. He remained here three months and some days, for the purpose of witnessing the procession of images.

The ceremonies commenced on the 1st day of the 4th moon, and continued till the 14th, [4th of June to the 18th]. It appeared that the roads were swept and watered, the public places put in order and ornamented: tapestry and hangings were placed before the gate of the city; and the king, the queen, and elegant women took up their stations there. At about a mile and a half or two miles from the gate, was constructed a car with four wheels for the images, about eighteen feet high, in the form of a moveable pavilion; ornamented with the seven precious things; hangings, curtains, and covertures of silk. The image [Buddha], attended by the highest order of Buddhist priests, or rather those belonging to the metaphysical branch, was placed in the middle, flanked on either side by an image of a Bodhisattwa; the three probably intending to represent, as M. Remusat thinks, the Buddhist supreme triad "of God, the Law, and the Church," or "Clergy;" behind this triad were placed the Devas

[1] Sthûpa.

[2] In the country of Candahar a tumulus is spoken of measuring 216 metres, or 708¾ feet English, in height, throwing the great pyramid of Egypt into the shade; and we are indebted to M. Masson and General Ventura for a knowledge of the sacred objects enclosed in these tumuli, some of which are at this moment in the museum of the India House. Page 19.

of the Indians, the Lha of the Thibetans, the Tægri of the Mongols &c., such as Indra, Brahma, &c., &c., these being deemed exceedingly inferior to the pure or purified intelligencies of the Buddhists, including Buddhas, Bodhisattwas, and even Arhans.

En passant may be noticed, not only the singular fact of the carrying supposed Brahmanical gods in procession in a subordinate capacity to Buddha,—but also the singular fact that the chief gods of modern Hindu worship, Siva and Vishnu, are not mentioned; while Indra, and Brahma who then figured, are now in the back-ground. So that the supposed immutable Hindus would appear to have had their fashions in religion like the Western world. This omission of Siva and Vishnu will be elsewhere noticed. But to return to the text. All the images were of gold or silver, ornamented with precious stones. When the images had arrived within one-hundred paces of the gate, the king took off his crown, changed his garments, and advanced *barefoot* towards it, accompanied by his suite; falling at its feet he adored it[1], burning at the same time perfumes, and scattering flowers. At the moment of the image entering the city, the ladies, and young females in the pavilion showered down flowers upon the car, so that it was entirely covered.

Those who have witnessed the procession of Jaggarnath or read an account of it, will be struck with the resemblance between a Buddhist pageant, of 1400 years back, and a modern peculiar Hindu ceremony; for the suspension of Caste at Jaggarnath[2], not only makes the celebration peculiar, but involves the whole in mystery, and the uncouth figures of Jaggarnath, and his brother and sister, more like chaityas than beings with human form, make the matter more mysterious.

Fa hian speaks of a fine monastery two or three miles from Khotan, called the new temple of the king; which occupied eighty years in building, during the reigns of three kings; it had a tower [or the temple itself], 250 English feet high[3], or nearly 50 feet higher than the monument in London. There were numerous sculptures on plates of gold and silver, and the pillars, doors, and windows of the chapel of Buddha were covered with plates of gold. Fa hian says, that the cells for the monks were so beautiful and so highly ornamented, that he could not find words to describe them.

I have made these extracts to show not only the wealth, skill,

[1] This was a gross corruption of the principles of Buddhism, which taught the worship of the supreme intelligence only.

[2] Jaggarnath is on or near the site of a celebrated relic temple of the Buddhists.

[3] 25 Toises, or 76 metres = 250 feet high.

and industry of the time and country, but also the luxury which must have obtained in places where no European has yet set foot.

Fa hian speaks of the kings of the six kingdoms, to the east of the mountains [of Khotan ?] sending rich gifts to the monastery. These princes must of course have been Buddhists.

One of Fa hian's companions here quitted him in the suite of a priest of the Supreme Reason [Lau tsau][1], going to Cophène, Ghazni, and Candahar. He himself, and his friends, moved towards Koukeyar[2] which he reached in twenty-five days. The king was a stanch Buddhist; there were about one thousand priests, for the most part of the higher order, in the kingdom. He then moved to Ladak [as Klaproth supposed], but this Professor Wilson questions, and then got into the Northern ramifications of the Himalaya, and having journeyed for twenty-five days reached the kingdom of Kie-tchha, which Klaproth takes to be little Thibet. Here Hoei King and some other of Fa hian's companions rejoined him. The king celebrated with amazing pomp a quinquennial reunion of Buddhist priests, who came in swarms: the ceremonies lasted a month or more, and at their termination the king, and his officers, and gentry, presented in alms the horses they rode; silks, stuffs, and other valuables; but which they ultimately redeemed from the ecclesiastics.

The country was cold and mountainous, and no other grain than Le Blé[3] ripened. The ecclesiastics had an annual allowance, but it having been found that as soon as they received their annual allowance, the snows commenced, the king gave orders that they were not to receive their portion until the whole grain of the country had come to maturity. The country boasted as relics a vase in which Buddha [Sakya Muni] had spat, and one of his teeth. In honour of this last a tower had been raised. There were about six thousand ecclesiastics in the country, all however belonging to the inferior or Ethical section, and they used the "*praying wheel*[4]" with wondrous effect.

[1] Their emblem was the Swastika, or mystic cross 卐, which is found initial and terminal on the Buddhist inscriptions in the Dekkan, and very generally on the Buddhist coins, in the India House.

[2] Lat. 37° 30′, long. E. 70° 40′.

[3] Probably barley or rye.

[4] The wheel plays a great part in Buddhist ceremonial. The priests *pasted prayers* on it, and turned it round. One turn had all the efficacy of an oral repetition: the faster they turned it, therefore, the faster they were getting to heaven. The wheel also was looked upon as the emblem of those kings who were supposed to have obtained universal dominion; and this explains the hitherto unintelligible fact of some of the figures of Buddha in the caves of Western India being seated on the edge of a wheel, whence they were called Chakravarti in Sanskrit, or Turners of

The kingdom is in the midst of the mountains [of little Thibet?] Passing to the south of them, the plants and fruits become totally different, and three plants only are met with common to China, namely, the bamboo, the pomegranate, and the sugar-cane!

Fa hian is then occupied for a month in passing the Himalayas. He speaks of the perpetual snow, and of the dangers from the wind, rain, snow, drifting sand, and falling rocks: having passed the mountains he came into Northern India, into the little kingdom of Tho li[1], conjectured to be the present Dardu, in the gorge of the mountains where the Indus passes them.

The king was a Buddhist, and the clergy were numerous, but they belonged to the minor or ethical section. There was a statue of wood here eighty feet high, whose foot was three feet eight inches long, of the future Buddha Maitriya, to take whose likeness an Arhan had been permitted to visit the fourth heaven[2], Fa hian saw this prodigious statue[3].

Hence Fa hian follows the gorge of the Indus for fifteen days, and describes the precipices flanking the river, some of them 8000 feet high; he mentions the passage of the river across a chasm, by a suspension-bridge, the ascent of precipices by steps cut in the rock, and states very naturally how much the mind was troubled by all these risks.

Having surmounted them, he indulges in a little triumph and harmless vanity, by declaring that the celebrated Chinese generals Tchang Khian and Kann yng, the former of whom had gone on an embassy to the Scythians in the year 122 B.C., and the latter had conducted an expedition towards the Caspian[4], in the year of Christ 97, had not reached the point or passed the difficulties that he had done, but Fa hian was not aware how much further *Westward* these generals had gone than himself. It was here that the ecclesiastics in his company asked him, if it was possible to know when Buddhism first commenced to pass to the Eastward to China, and he replied that he was informed by the people of the country who had it traditionally, that it was after the erection of the above-noticed statue, that the priests of India first passed the river, carrying with them the sacred books and precepts; that the statue was erected 300 years

the Wheel. In the Ramayana the term is also applied to Rama and some of his ancestors. The wheel also was looked upon as the emblem of the transmigration of the soul.

1 The Eastern part of Affghanistan?

2 Touchita.

3 Can the figures at Bamian have any relation to Fa hian's statue?

4 With the object of destroying the Roman Empire!! Page 39, note.

after the death of Buddha, which corresponded to the reign of Phing Wang of the family of Tcheou who commenced his reign in 770 B.C., and died in 720 B.C.[1], but this relates to its introduction into Tartary, and the borders of China. However, in 212 B.C., Che li fang, and eighteen other Buddhist priests of the West, made their appearance in China, and were thrown into prison by the emperor Chi houng, and it was only in the year 61 of our era that Buddhism was officially adopted, although long before known[2].

Having passed the river, Fa hian sets foot in Affghanistan, to the north of Cabul in the kingdom of Ou tchang [Oudyana[3],] where the people were in the absolute use of the language of central India[4], their habits, manners, and customs being the same. Buddhism was in eminent honour; there were upwards of five hundred monasteries of the ethical section. Strangers were received cordially in them, and lodged and fed for three days. Nevertheless, in this eminently Buddhist kingdom, we have the first mention of Brahmans. The Chinese author Ma touan lin placed the kingdom to the east of Kandahar, somewhere probably about Attock and Peshawer; and there also he locates the Brahmans. "THE FIRST AMONG THE TRIBES OF BARBARIANS[5]." This very remarkable passage necessarily gives rise to important reflections. The Brahmans then were considered as a TRIBE only, and not only as a tribe; but as a tribe of Barbarians, that is to say, of those who did not make part and parcel of the majority of a nation! not as the hierarchy of a whole people, and being possessed of formidable religious or political power, but as a foreign community in a state. And be it recollected that when they are thus spoken of, it was 1400, or 1500, or at least 1000 years after the appearance of Sakya Muni the third Buddha; up to which last period, they had not struggled into importance; but they were now beginning to get that hold upon sovereigns and their people, which ultimately ended in their establishing their supremacy. In the

[1] This would place the birth of Sakya Muni in about 1027, or 1029 B.C., and his death in 950 B.C., which is an approximation to Sir Wm. Jones's data. Professor Wilson, in the *Oriental Magazine* for 1825, quotes no less than eleven authorities, every one of which establish the era of Buddha more than 1000 years B.C., [five of them give B.C. 1027,] and five other authorities make it above 800 years B.C.

[2] Remusat, note, p. 41.

[3] There is a question whether Kashmir is not intended.

[4] M. Klaproth thinks the translation should be "The language of Central India extends as far as this." Page 59.

[5] This could not have been written in enmity, for in many Buddhist inscriptions kindness and charity to Brahmans is recommended. Page 46, Note.

502nd year of Christ[1], it appears that an embassy from this very kingdom of Ou tchang, went with tribute to the emperor of China, King ming, in the third year of his reign. After describing the situation of the kingdom, the account says, "The Brahmans are considered as the superior caste amongst the STRANGERS: they are well versed in the science of astronomy, and in the calculation of lucky and unlucky days, and the kings do nothing without consulting their decisions." Here again they are looked upon as not only *not forming* an integral part of the nation, but as strangers, and here it appears they pursued the identical line of conduct to establish their influence, which they are at this moment pursuing amongst the Buddhists in Burmah, Siam, and Cochin China; namely, practising judicial astrology. At page 122, the learned and philosophic, are separated from the Brahmans, or men who walk in purity, and who cultivate arithmetic and the occult sciences, such as astrology, the art of divination, &c.

Early in the sixth century, A.D., 510, two inhabitants of China who were Buddhist priests, Soung yun tse, and Hoei seng, visited this kingdom of Ou tchang, which they described as singularly rich and fertile; the fields being irrigated, and flowers blooming all the year round[2]; the temples, and towers, were highly ornamented and magnificent. No criminal was allowed to be punished with death[3], but he was banished to a desert mountain. There are several minute details of local peculiarities, which would doubtless admit of the spots being identified at this day. Ou tchang boasted of an impression of the foot of Buddha [Sakya Muni], and of the rock on which he dried his clothes. At eight days' march from the city to the S.E., amongst the mountains, was the spot where Sakya Muni made a present of his body to a hungry tiger. It was upon a scarped mountain, full of caverns, and with summits penetrating the clouds. The two travellers, Soung yun, and Hoei seng, gave money for a statue, and they caused an inscription to be engraved on the rock, to record the great actions of the dynasty of Wei. The temple to Buddha at this place was inhabited by three hundred ecclesiastics. Now that the British have free access to Affghanistan, no doubt this inscription will one day be brought to light. At another place not far from the city, was a temple enclosing relics of Buddha; around which were arranged *sixty gilded statues*. The king

[1] *Pian i tian*, book 63, p. 1—15. Page 47, Note.

[2] Soung yun uses a beautiful poetical image, which I had never met with before. Speaking of the multitudes and varied colours of the butterflies, he says, "they looked like *flying flowers!*"

[3] Vide ASOKA's *Edict on the Delhi Pillar*.

had an annual meeting of all the ecclesiastics in his kingdom. "They gathered like clouds," and Soung yun and Koei seng, had their admiration and respect excited by the simple manners, the regular conduct, and the pious austerities of these religious mendicants. And yet this was in the country where Brahmans resided; and where they were not only free from persecution, but were held in respect; for Soung yun, spent a month in the country for the purpose of obtaining *charms*[1] from the Brahmans to calm his mind, which had become unusually agitated. Soung yun, it will be borne in mind, travelled about one hundred years after Fa hian; and in these hundred years, the absurd traditions respecting Sakya Muni's life and actions would appear to have been infinitely multiplied, enlarged, or distorted. The credulity of Fa hian was comparatively limited, but Soung yun surpassed him beyond all measure.

According to Soung yun, embassies were sent from this kingdom [Oudyana,] to China, in the years of Christ 510, 511, 518 and 521[2]. Other Chinese authorities mention the arrival of another embassy in A.D., 642[3].

In an account of the Western countries under the great dynasty of T'hang, the country of Ou tchang is stated to have formerly had 1400 monasteries and 18,000 ecclesiastics[4], but many of the former were in ruins, and the monks became greatly diminished[5]. There were at least *ten* temples inhabited by the heretics: as this probably refers to the Brahmans, it shows how *very limited* their numbers must have been, compared with the Buddhist ecclesiastics; but the Buddhists were divided into five sects, and several heresies, and even the ten temples may have belonged to them, and not to the Brahmans, page 53.

The king Asoka built a tower near the capital, and in the mountains were the cells of five hundred Arhans, no doubt excavations. It was in this country also the prodigious statue of Buddha said to have been in wood existed[6].

Quitting Soung yun we revert to Fa hian, who passes through the kingdom of Su ho to, where Buddhism was equally flourishing; and he notices that it was here that Buddha offered his own flesh

[1] Page 50. [2] Page 51. [3] Page 51. [4] Page 52.

[5] The inhabitants greatly honoured the law of Buddha; they were timid and studious, and astrology was their usual occupation, and enchantments were had recourse to; they belonged to the transcendental class of Buddhists. It is curious that according to Fa hian, the exact language of Central India was used here, Page 59.

[6] I again ask,—Can this figure and the *excavations* refer to Bamian?

while *in his* PREVIOUS state of Bodhisattwa, to save a pigeon from a hawk [a test of Indra's the king of the thirty-three Devatas], and which is recorded on an inscription *many hundred years afterwards*, in a temple to the Linga, in Bundlekund as having occurred to Siva[1].

Fa hian then passes to what M. Remusat considers Kandahar, but which Professor Wilson considers may be the Gandaris of Strabo, in the Punjab. It was here that the *son* of King Asoka[2] of Magadha reigned. Fa hian found Buddhism flourishing, and there was a great tower. Many of the inhabitants belonged to that branch of the priesthood of the ethical section. Seven days' march to the east, brings Fa hian to Tchyoutasira [fallen head][3], where Buddha made an almsgiving of his head, and gave his body to an hungry tiger. The king of these countries, the wealthy, and the people, rivalled each other in their devotion to Buddhism. There were four great towers or topes, in honour of Buddha; M. Remusat thinks the country not far from the present Shorawak. Professor Wilson leans to the Punjab, and surmises some connexion between the name of the tope of Manikyala, the Chinese name Chu cha, Chilo, and Taksha sila: but from the coins found in Manikyala, it must have been raised after Fa hian's travels.

Fa hian next gets to the kingdom of Foe leou cha, which MM. Remusat, Klaproth, and Landresse, consider the country of the Beloutches. Professor Wilson prefers Peshawer and its neighbourhood. Wherever it was, it had, with one exception, the most splendid stupa or tope in all India, 122 metres, or 400 feet high, which contained the begging pot of Buddha. A Scythian king, a zealous Buddhist, anciently invaded this kingdom, according to the traditions reported by Fa hian, to carry off this pot; but it would not move. Now it is known from other sources that the Scythians invaded and conquered Affghanistan in the middle of the second century B.C., and kept possession of it until the third century, and other parts of India until the fifth century A.D[4]. This confirmation therefore of what Fa hian calls a tradition is curious. These Scythians were Buddhists.

[1] Professor Wilson considers this fable to have been borrowed from the Hindus; ut the reverse is more probable.

[2] M. Remusat has a note, in which the Chinese authorities make Asoka to have reigned 116 years after the death of Buddha, in the regency of Koung ho, 833 B.C. Chronological Tables of Japan and China. Book i., p. 17, and p. 66.

[3] Page 75.

[4] M. Remusat thinks the Scythians kept possession of Bactria, Eastern Persia, Affghanistan, Balouchistan, and Western India, [Sindh, Cutch, and Gujarat?] until this period. Page 84.

This majestic Tope was built by Kanika, whom Professor Wilson describes as a Scythian sovereign of Kashmir; but the Tope was raised *before* the invasion of the Scythians[1], and Hiuan thsang makes Kanika reign in Gandhara 400 years after the death of Buddha, which, according to Chinese chronology, would be 550 B.C., and, according to the Ceylon chronology, 153 B.C. [2]He must have been a zealous Buddhist if he built the Tope, and the invader equally a Buddhist to invade the country for the pot. The Chinese assert that this pot was carried into China by *Bodhidharma*, who was the last of the Buddhist patriarchs born in India, in the fifth century;[3] and this fact is of importance, as it marks the incipient migration of the Buddhists—probably consequent on the persecutions of the followers of Siva, whose bloody and licentious rites appear to have had their origin about this time, although some centuries elapsed before the worship has any authentic record in inscriptions.

In this kingdom one of Fa hian's companions fell sick, and three others returned to China to report to the emperor.

Seventy-two miles to the west brings Fa hian to the frontier of the kingdom of Na kia[4], to the eastward of Ghazni according to M. Remusat, and Professor Wilson inclines to Jallalabad. Fa hian now uses Sanskrit or Pali terms of long metrical measure. Buddha's skull was preserved here with such jealous rigour that the king of the country selected the chiefs of eight principal families, under whose seals the skull was locked up every night, and opened and taken out every morning to be worshipped, they washing their hands with scented water before they touched the relic. The king did not go to public business until he had performed his daily worship.[5] The chapel in which was the relic must have been richly adorned, from the mention of gilding and precious stones. Fa hian describes the cranium as of a whitish-yellow colour, and it had a bump above. What a treasure this would be for the phrenologists! Fa hian

[1] 292 B.C., p. 84.

[2] M. Remusat has here a chronology from Chinese sources:—

Birth of Sakya,	0,	24th of Tchao Wang,	B.C. 1029.
Becomes a priest,	19,	43rd do. do.	1010.
Accomplishes the law,	30,	3rd of Mou Wang,	999.
Dies,	79,	52nd do. do.,	950.
Maha Kashypa dies,	124,	5th of Hiao Wang,	905.
Ananda dies,		In the reign of T. Wang,	894,—879.

[3] *Khan hi Tseu tian*, vol. 167, lin. 5.

[4] This kingdom sent tribute to China, A.D. 628, 2¼ *centuries after* Fa hian's time, p. 89; at which period Buddhism was the religion of the inhabitants, and there were *very few heretics*.

[5] Page 85.

mentions numerous "towers of deliverance," which appear to have been altars of about five feet high, upon which the king and the people, and even neighbouring kings, offered flowers and perfumes daily.—*Can these have any relation to the figure and the altar on the numerous coins from this very country?*[1]

About four miles N. from this chapel, a tooth of Buddha was preserved; but this had disappeared when Hiouan thsang visited the country 227 years afterwards. At four miles E. the staff of Buddha was preserved and worshipped: the staff, like the begging-pot, and other prescribed articles, is the companion of every Buddhist mendicant; and it is surmounted or headed by some design or other. Fa hian says that of Buddha was an ox's head, carved in sandelwood. *Can this staff have anything to do with the staff or standard and figure of the coins?*

At four days to the West was the garment of Buddha; and about two miles South of the town of Na kie was the *shadow* of Buddha, which Fa hian saw, but he could not account for the deception; and close to it was a monastery of seven hundred ecclesiastics, where were preserved the cuttings of Buddha's hair and nails[2].

M. Remusat has a suspicion that these relics and traditions relate to a predecessor of Sakya Muni, whose field of action w s Central India, and not Affghanistan[3].

Fa hian now passes, in the winter months, the lesser snowy mountains [the Solimani range], where the cold and severity of the weather was so great, that one of his companions perished. His loss is touchingly noticed by Fa hian, who succeeds with two others in reaching in thirteen marches the kingdom of Lo i, to the south of the chain. What kingdom this might have been is not now known, but it was eminently Buddhist, as there were three thousand ecclesiastics of the transcendental and ethical sections. Ten days' journey to the south brought him to the kingdom of Po-ma [not identified]. Here again were about three thousand ecclesiastics, all of the ethical section. In neither of these kingdoms is there any mention made of heretics. Three days' journey to the east brought him again to the Indus, which he passed where the *banks were low, and the country flat and level!* M. Remusat thinks about Bakkar. Having passed the river, he arrived in the kingdom of Pi tchha. M. Remusat thinks the Punjab [Pan cha nala], M. Klaproth Sindh, and Professor Wilson Tak. At all events, Buddhism was in honour, and flourishing. The inhabitants were extremely affected to see travellers from the extre-

[1] Page 86. [2] Page 94.
[3] Vide the Hon. H. Turnour's *Introduction to the Mahawanso.*

mity of the earth arriving to do honour to Buddha, and they offered them every solace in their power[1].

Thence travelling to the S.E., *at least* 360 miles [so he says], he arrives at the celebrated city of Mutra [Mathura], on the Jumna, having passed in his route a great number of temples in which lived several tens of thousands of ecclesiastics. He does not say that they were heretics, or who or what they were; but had they been Buddhists he no doubt would have mentioned it; and, considering that he passed the localities, not far from where Alexander found a town of the Brahmans amongst the Malloi, it is very probable the whole of the country between Bakkar on the Indus and Mutra was inhabited by a Brahmanical people, or at least by the Rajputs; and this is the more probable from the very remarkable and decided language of Fa hian which follows:—"*At Mutra,* on both banks of the river, there are about twenty monasteries, which are capable of containing about three thousand ecclesiastics; and the law of Buddha *recommences* to be held in honour," *where* it had flourished *uninterruptedly* from the time of Buddha; that is to say, for 1400 years according to the Chinese dates, or 1000 years according to the modern Ceylon Buddhists. From the time of leaving the DESERTS [no doubt those of Jaysulmer and Bikaneer] and the river [Jumna] to the West, or rather having passed to the Eastward of the deserts and the Jumna, ALL THE KINGS OF THE DIFFERENT KINGDOMS IN INDIA ARE FIRMLY ATTACHED TO THE LAW OF BUDDHA[2], and when they do honour to the ecclesiastics, they take off their diadems. They, and the princes of their families, and their officers, give them aliments with their own hands. When this is done, a carpet is spread for the ecclesiastics, and they place themselves opposite. In the presence of an ecclesiastic they would not attempt to recline or sit on a bed[3]; and this custom, which the kings observe to testify their respect, commenced when Buddha was in the world, and HAS CONTINUED FROM THAT TIME UNTIL THE PRESENT!"

M. Remusat very justly calls this a remarkable passage, testifying as it does that in these regions Buddhism had continued *uninterruptedly* from the sixth century before Christ until the fifth after

[1] Page 98.

[2] This is most decisive and unequivocal testimony borne personally by Fa hian, not only of the *Religious* but of the *Political* supremacy of Buddhism over all India, excepting in the deserts just mentioned. P. 99, et seq.

[3] This appears to have been a royal privilege as far as the lay public was concerned, judging from the figures of princes reclining or sitting on beds on the Canouj coins, and in the paintings at the Ajanta caves.

Christ; that is to say, more than one thousand years; and that too in the very seat in which *Puranic fables* locate the *holiest* places of Brahmanism, Mutra, Benares, Allahabad, Oude, and the banks of the Jumna and Ganges. Singularly also is the honesty and good faith of this simple-minded man corroborated by the ancient inscriptions and coins which have been brought to light within the last few years. Of the thousands of coins found in India up to the period or time of Fa hian, there is NOT ONE[1] *that has any relation to Brahmanism;* and the same may be said of the numerous inscriptions. There is no *proof* even of the existence of the Sanskrit language at this time, all the ancient inscriptions being in a dialect barely removed from Pali, or the language of the Buddhists[2]. From China, through Tartary to Ceylon, with the exception of the inhabitants on the tract noticed between the Indus and Jumna, Fa hian had found only Buddhist kings and a Buddhist people, with traditions of the existence of the same state of things for the preceding 1000 years, or according to the Chinese dates for 1400 years. And here I might close Fa hian's personal narrative, and advert to the religious state in which Hiuan thsang found India in the early part of the seventh century; but there are too many facts, and too many points of personal interest, to part with him for a little while. His very next passage characterizes the country and the people of Central India, including Oude, Bahar, &c. He says, after describing the equable climate, equally removed from extremes of heat and cold, and without frost or snow, "The people live in abundance and happiness, registers of the inhabitants are unknown, [there was not any capitation tax as in China,] and neither magistrates nor laws trouble them. Those only who cultivate reap the produce. If one wants to go, he goes; if he wishes to stay, he stays. To govern, the kings do not have recourse to the terrors of punishment: the culpable are fined, the fine being proportioned to the offence; and in the case of

[1] Professor Wilson thinks some coins of Kadphises, B.C. a few years, with a Sivalic figure, trident, and bull on them, are of a Hindu type, but the taurine figure is common to the Grecian, Celtic, and Buddhist, as well as to the Hindu systems, and is repeatedly to be met with on coins with indisputably Buddhist emblems. Vide coins of Ceylon, Amavati, Indo Sassanian and Indo Scythic, and Kadphises' coins even have the monograms or emblems, which are found in the Buddhist caves. And as for the trident and supposed figure of Siva, a Sivalic figure with a trident, is on the coin No. 4, plate 25, vol. 3. J. A. S. B., combined with the Buddhist chaitya and Bo-tree.

[2] There is a solitary instance of a quasi Sanskrit inscription on copper plates from Valabhi, in Gujarat, of the supposed date, A.D. 328; but this is dependent upon not mistaking one era for another, and a *Pali* translator might have found the puzzling text *easier* than the Sanskrit translator did.

relapsed criminals, the most extreme punishment, even for murder, is to cut off the right hand." The inhabitants of the country do not put to death any living creature; no doubt the consequence of the edicts of Asoka or Piyadasi, recorded on the Delhi and other columns. But this was no part of original Buddhism, for Buddha died of a dysentery from eating pork[1]; and it was equally no part of Brahmanism, for in the legends of the life of Buddha, his humanity induced him to turn himself into a *roasted hare* to feed a *famishing Brahman;* and in the *Ramayana*[2], we read, as I have already pointed out, of the choice dinner given to Bharuta and his army by the Brahman hermit Bharadwájo, at Allahabad, comprising roast and boiled venison, peacocks, partridges, mutton, and *pork,* with appropriate sauces, the whole washed down with potent spirits!

Fa hian then adds that the people "neither drink wine nor eat garlic nor onions[3]." The only people who killed animals, and sold meat, and went to the chase, were the Chandalas [butchers], odious people who lived by themselves, and were avoided by the other inhabitants of towns and villages. Shells [cypræa moneta] served as money.

From the time of Buddha to the time of Fa hian's visit, the kings, the aristocracy, and the heads of families, had built chapels for the ecclesiastics, had furnished them with provisions, had given them grants of fields and houses, of gardens and orchards, procuring for them also farmers and animals for their cultivation. These grants were engraved on iron[4], and no succeeding king was permitted to affect their stability. M. Remusat has here a note, that, according to the traditions collected by Fa hian and his personal testimony, up to this period from the ministry of Buddha, even his religion had not yet been affected by any supposed *rivalry of the Brahmans;* that is to say, it had flourished uninterruptedly for 14 centuries[5].

[1] Vide *Mahawanso* and *Suttapitako,* quoted by the Hon. Mr. Turnour, J. A. S.B., Vol. vii, p.1003.

[2] Book 2, sect. 67, p. 301.

[3] The Buddhist decalogue says, not to kill any living being, not to steal, not to commit adultery, not to lie, not to drink wine, [not to eat garlic, &c. is included in the last,] not to seat oneself on places of honour, not to wear flowers or ribbons, not to give oneself up to songs, dances, and comedies, not to wear ornaments of gold or silver, and not to eat after midday. Page 104. The practice of the first five entitled the individual to be born amonst the gods. Page 147.

[4] The only inscription on iron hitherto found is the inscription on the iron pillar at Delhi; but it is after A.D. 800, and has no relation to grants of land.

[5] M. Remusat's era of Buddha's ministry is B.C. 999. Upham, from the *Mahawanso,* fixes his birth 998 B.C., vol. iii. p. 56, Quoted in note to Fa hian, p. 284.

Fa hian subsequently enters into minute details respecting the habits, manners, customs, and advantages of the priesthood, which were the same all over the country. When strangers arrived amongst them, they were received with great honour and kindness. They were met on the road, and their clothes and *begging-pot* carried for them. Water was taken to them to wash their feet; oil to anoint their bodies, and a special entertainment was given to them. Fa hian particularly enumerates six towers [monasteries?] in Mutra where ecclesiastics put up. They were named after disciples of Buddha, or from containing certain sacred books.

At the close of this chapter[1], Fa hian has a very remarkable passage. Still speaking of the Buddhist ecclesiastics, he says, "At the end of the year they receive their customary presents from the elders, [les anciens,] the men in office, the Brahmans, and others, which consisted of the coloured dresses, and other things necessary for Buddhist priests." Here the Brahmans can scarcely be viewed as religious characters; for it cannot be supposed, if they were priests, that they would be in the habit of making annual presents to their hated rivals: they may rather be looked upon, as there is strong ground for believing at this period, as seculars, and laymen, and constituents, as I shall have occasion to show, of even a Buddhist community!

Fa hian concludes the chapter by repeating that in these countries the rites and ceremonies of Buddhism had never been interrupted from the time of Buddha, and M. Remusat very *quaintly* remarks[2], "The alleged superiority of Brahmanism, therefore, must be looked for in other countries!"

Fa hian now proceeds seventy miles S. E. to the kingdom of Sam Kassam in Pâli, and mentioned in the *Ramayana* as Sankasya, somewhere about Farrakhabad. Here was a great stoupa or tope: it contained the ladder by which Buddha had descended from heaven, [where he had been to see his mother,] accompanied by Indra and Brahma. He does not make any mention of temples to these two personages; but Hiuan thsang found two temples erected *to them* in honour of their having *accompanied Buddha* on his return from heaven, manifesting the corruptions that were then undermining Buddhism.

It is to be remarked that Indra and Brahma, in the estimation of the Buddhists, had the *Pas* in the Brahmanical Pantheon, and there is no mention of Siva or Vishnu, who may not yet have been grafted upon the stock. As a crowd of gods were in attendance

[1] Chap. 16. [2] Page 125.

upon Buddha; Siva and Vishnu would probably have been named, had they then attained to a fraction of their modern celebrity. But with regard to Indra and Brahma, and the thirty-one other gods residing in the second heaven, they are not eternal beings, but in transitu; and it is competent to *mortals* even to take their names and places as they become vacant in the progress of the universe[1]. Brahma, therefore, was considered by the Buddhists 1400 years ago as only a *transitory Devata*, and not the *Creator* of the universe: he was inferior even to Indra. Part of the Buddhists of Nepal with a Brahmanical tinge, speak of Brahma as Creator, Vishnu as Preserver, and Mahesa as Destroyer, all emanating from an ancient Buddha. But this was looked upon as heresy by the Chinese Buddhists; for they deem all these gods, when they admit their existence at all, as imperfect beings, whom men may even surpass by attaining the quality of Bodhisattwa or purified intelligence[2]. The Chinese have, nevertheless, now got a corrupted Pantheon of twenty of these personages. M. Remusat does not mention his authority, but from the complexion of the account of them, it has not an ANTIQUE character: Brahma is put at their head; Indra follows; but Maha Iswara, supposed to be Mahadeo, or Siva, from his being described as having eight arms, *three* eyes, and being seated on a *white bull* with a white brush in his hand, ranks as low as the *eighth* in the list; but the name of Siva never occurs in these Chinese writings, and it is not less remarkable that in the numerous inscriptions between the sixth and fourteenth centuries, [vide Appendix,] in which the Destroyer is referred to or eulogized, he is called in all the earlier inscriptions by some other of his numerous names, and not by that of Siva. The twelfth of these gods is the general of the *Vedas*, which word vedas is explained to mean a "discourse on science." Instead of giving himself up to the voluptuousness of the gods, he walked in purity and continence, received the instruction of *Buddha*, and defended his religion. What this relation between the Vedas and Buddha exactly means, I do not know; but it plainly says that the commander-in-chief of the armies of the Vedas defended the religion of Buddha, and when a temple to Buddha was built, a statue of the general was put into it[3]. Then comes the mother of the Demons with her 1000 children to whom human beings address themselves if they want progeny. The twentieth and last in the list is Yama, the god of the infernal regions. Although this jumble of Buddhist and Brahmanical or

[1] Page 128. [2] Page 128 aud 138.

[3] Pages 138 and 142. Tching fa nian tchou king, quoted in the San tsang fa sou, book 18, page 20.

rather Hindu Devatas is evidently comparatively modern, there is not any mention of Vishnu, Krishna, Ganesa, or the Hindu goddesses, and if they had been known at the time of writing the list, they would most probably have come in for a place of honour. It can scarcely be doubted that this list contains evidence of the progress of corruption in Buddhism, which has ended in the substitution of the worship of spirits or genii [naats] in most parts of China, to the exclusion of Buddha. In one of the curious diaries of the ambassadors sent from the Burman empire in the present century, to Pekin, and published by Colonel Burney[1], the ambassadors state that they found the Chinese temples filled with figures of naats or spirits, and that they did not see a single figure of Buddha between the frontiers of Ava and Pekin!

M. Remusat ends his list of the Buddhist Pantheon, by adding that there were very many others whose names were not known; but it was asserted that Indra was their chief in the time of the *ancient* Buddha[2]. Here again is a reference to a predecessor of Sakya's. Arrian, in his *Histor. Ind.*, cap. viii., mentions a Buddha, the third from Bacchus, as a king of India, as far back as the fabulous times[3].

All the above gods of the second heaven were, of course, inferior to those of the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth heavens. Brahma, Indra, &c., had no reason, therefore, to be very grateful to the Buddhists for the honour vouchsafed to them, whether viewed as constituents of the Polytheism of the Brahmans, or as belonging to Buddhism. It was only in the sixth heaven these fabulous personages were supposed to be elevated above carnal desires. In addition to the above, the Buddhists enumerated other heavens with their inhabitants. But all of them, of whichever heaven, were infinitely below a Bodhisattwa, the next rank below a Buddha[4].

It is time, however, to return to Fa hian, who states that the King Asoka, wanting to see how far the ladder went down into the earth, caused people to dig; but not being able to reach the end, his faith and veneration increased, and he built a chapel over the spot, and on the middle step of the ladder he raised an erect statue of Buddha, sixty feet high. Behind the chapel he raised a stone

[1] J. A. S. B., vols. 6 and 7. [2] Page 144.

[3] Απιόντα δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς, ὡς οἱ ταῦτα κεκοτμέατο, καταςῆται βασιλέα τῆς χώρης Σπαρτέμβαν, τῶν ἑταίρων ἕνα, τὸν βακχωδέςατον· τελευτήσαντος, δὲ Σπαρτέμβα, τὴν βασιλείην ἐκδέξασθαι βουδύαν τὸν τούτου παῖδα, καὶ τὸν μὲν πεντήκοντα, καὶ δύο ἔτεα βασιλεῦσαι Ἰνδῶν, τὸν πατέρα· τὸν δὲ παῖδα, εἴκοσιν ἔτεα.

[4] Page 146.

column forty-five feet high, with a lion on the top of it[1]. Certain *heretics* disputed the possession of this locality, but the lion on the top of the column giving a lusty roar, the heretics were discomfited, and the dispute was settled. M. Remusat has a note in which he says it may be supposed the heretics were Brahmans; but it does not necessarily follow, as no less than eleven sects of heretics have already been enumerated, some Buddhists and some Brahmanical[2]. Some of the legends of Sakya Muni make him and his disciples dispute with ninety-five different sects, but these are reducible to eleven, whose doctrine, books, and habitudes, prevailed IN THE WEST[3]; and it may be supposed, therefore, OUT OF INDIA, or at least in Bikaner, and Jaysalmer. Amongst these was the Sankhya system, the Vaishesika, the author of which lived 800 years before Sakya Muni, and who appears to have been a quasi Buddhist, or one whose doctrines Sakya may be supposed to have reformed, in case he came as a reformer, and not as an inventor. Then come the Vibhuti, who cover themselves with cinders, and believe the sixth god of the world of desires, Iswara, to have created all things. Then the followers of the Vedas, who imagine that Narayana created the four families, Brahmans from his mouth, Kshatryas from his arms, Vaisyas from his thighs, and Sudras from his feet. Then come the partisans of the Egg, [Anda,] from which Brahma sprung, and created the world[4]. Then come the Timeists; also those who believe space to be the origin of things, then the Conformists; next follow the believers in all things originating in Æther. The tenth sect believed in the supreme efficacy of morality; and the eleventh and last believed that there was not any first cause!

The above details appear to have been translated from the Chinese work, "San tsang fâ sou." M. Remusat does not give the date of the work, which, however, looks to be comparatively modern, from its notices of Puranic fables. It is very curious, as it would seem to separate the followers of the Vedas from those of Brahma, the latter from Narayana, and the followers of both these latter from the Vibhuti: its location of all the Hindu sectaries or heretics in *the West* is important. Its details are probably founded on the information taken to China, by Chinese pilgrims returning from India; or by the immigrating Buddhists in the seventh and eighth centuries, flying from their persecutors, the Saiva's.

[1] Very many such columns have recently been found in India, some of them wihh Asoka's edicts engraved on them.

[2] See page 149, for a list of the heretical sects.

[3] Page 152, et seq.

[4] San tsang fâ sou, book 47, page 26.

Another Chinese variation of the above details in the same work, reduces the heretical sects to nine. It contains an explanation of the *three forms* of Iswara, [Siva,] seen in the cave-temples of Elephanta, and at Ellora, which I have never met with before. It says, " The heretics say that this god [Iswara] has three bodies; that of the " law," which means that his substance is eternal, universally diffused, and extending as far as space, and having the power to create all things; that which " disposes," because he is above all forms; and that of " transformations," because he changes in the six conditions all the beings of whom he takes the form." I cannot say that this is very intelligible, but it is new. The account further says, that Iswara resides in the heaven called Aghanista; that he is the lord of 3000 worlds; that his followers rub themselves with ashes, and the Brahmans in general consider him to be the cause of all things.

In a further enumeration of nine points in which the heretics are in error, respecting form, cause, effect, destiny, conduct, &c., it says " the heretics, partisans of the Vedas, believe that from the navel of Narayana sprung a lotus, on which appeared Brahma, who produced all things, and *to whom* are made offerings of flowers and plants, *and victims, such as hogs, sheep, asses, horses, &c. &c.*" Here we learn from Buddhist authority that it was part of the Hindu ritual to offer flesh in sacrifice; and this is in strict accordance with the details in the *Ramayana*, which state that flesh was thrown about on the funeral pile of Rama's father[1].

Those who go *entirely naked*, and whom we may suppose to be the Gymnosophists, met with by Alexander, are stated to believe that Nirvana, or identification with the godhead, depends upon a clear and distinct perception of all things in their different manners of being. Buddha himself mentions this naked class of religionists without calling them heretics, and Arrian in his ΑΡΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΙΝΔΙΚΗ[2], describes them as philosophers and diviners, and offerers of sacrifices, without calling them Brahmans, which, indeed, they could not have been, as ANY of the seven classes of society might supply them, which is quite in accordance with the practice of the Buddhists[3]. Those who place themselves in dependence on women, believe that Maha Iswara created a woman who produced gods and men, &c., &c.: others make salvation to consist in penance; some in the

[1] Book 2, sect. 61, page 206.

[2] ΚΕΦ. XI.

[3] *Μοῦνον σφίσιν ἀνεῖται, σοφιστὴν ἐκ παντὸς γένεος γενέσθαι· ὅτι οὐ μαλθακὰ τοῖσι σοφιστῆσιν εἰσὶ τὰ πρήγματα, ἀλλὰ πάντων ταλαιπωρότατα.* ΚΕΦ. XII.

control of the passions; and many other doctrines declared by the Buddhists as heretical are enumerated; but it is to be noted as most singular, that amidst the numerous details given, showing an intimate acquaintance with Hindu opinions, as well as Buddhist sectarist opinions; *no mention whatever, no allusion even, is made to the worship of the Linga [Phallus]*, which for the last 800 years at least has been so celebrated and so widely diffused in India. From Fa hian's utter silence with respect to this worship, and the universal prevalence of Buddhism in his time, it may fairly be inferred that it did not exist while he was in India; nor does Hiuan thsang, in the seventh century, in spite of the decadence of Buddhism, and the progress of the Saiva's afford us the means of determining that Siva was yet worshipped under the form of the Linga. The oldest existing temples to this emblem are no doubt the Kylas and others at Ellora, and the Elephanta temple in the harbour of Bombay; but they are probably subsequent to the expulsion of the Buddhists, and not older than the ninth century. They are destitute of inscriptions, which characterize all Buddhist remains. The oldest inscriptions at present known in a Linga temple are not earlier than the tenth century. One is in the temple of Hursha in Shekavata, and is dated A.D. 961; and another commemorates the erection of a temple to Ṣiva at Brahmeswara in Cuttack, by a lady. An unknown era is used, but the character of the writing is after the tenth century. The Bhuvaneswar temple in Orissa is *said* to have been built A.D. 657, but there is not any *inscription* of the fact.

The San tsang fâ sou then enumerates six kinds of mortification to which some heretics subject themselves. Hunger and thirst, plunging into cold springs, burning different parts of the body, remaining perpetually seated, naked, and exposed to heat and cold, living in burial-grounds and funereal groves, and imposing upon themselves an absolute silence; and finally, eating grass and drinking water like brutes. Then there are five doubts of the heretics, but it will be sufficient to notice one of them; "Whether the law of Buddha or the Vedas is the best; the Vedas meaning a discourse on science, and which are full of the false science of the heretics[1]?" The Buddhists, therefore, considered the Vedas not as a religious, but as a scientific composition. The last quotation from the San tsang fâ sou is the following: "About 800 years after the death of Buddha, A.D. 257, the master of the law, Sang tchao, says, the heretics multiplied; violent sects sprung up; evil doctrines oppressed

[1] Page 159.

truth, and shook sound reason. It was then that Deva Bodhisattwa, disciple of Naga Krochouna, wrote his book, entitled the *Hundred Discourses* to defend truth, and stop the progress of error."

These minute facts in a Chinese book[1], bearing upon India, and the opinions of its people, are not less curious than important. M. Remusat does not give the date of the composition, but from what has been just said of Deva Bodhisattwa, it must be after the third century of Christ, at which period, probably, were the incipient movements of the Saiva's and Vaishnava's, which ended in the overthrow of Buddhism.

M. Remusat says that in the San tsang fâ sou he did not find anything particularly applicable to the fire-worshippers of Persia [or India]; and this silence will probably strengthen the supposition previously noticed, that the alleged fire-altar on one of the coins found in Affghanistan is simply the Buddhist family-altar noticed by Fa hian.

But to return to Fa hian, he mentions a tower being built [about Farrakhabad] where the three Buddha's predecessors of Sakya Muni met, namely, Kakusando, Konagammo, and Kassapo, which tower he saw; and there were other similar towers throughout the country, which were in existence in Fa hian's time. Fa hian makes us acquainted with a sad corruption, which had by this time crept into Buddhism, in the worship of a dragon, and the erection of a temple to him. The dragon appeared once a year in the form of a serpent, Naga [Coluber Naga]. The people of the country were numerous and rich, and beyond comparison more happy than elsewhere. Fa hian's next movement of twenty-eight miles to the S.E. brought him to Kanouj [Kanya Kubja] on the Ganges. Here were two monasteries and one of the eight great or celebrated towers or topes raised in India to Buddha, which Fa hian saw. The remains of this tower do not now exist at Kanouj, but the numerous Buddhist coins and other Buddhist relics discovered at Kanouj, leave no doubt of its having been a Buddhist town. The Chinese have literally translated the name of Kanya Kubja [hump-backed damsels, but whether from the Pali or Sanskrit is uncertain], with which the Buddhists connect a legend. The *Ramayana* has a similar legend, and it is a question which party stole it from the other.

From Kanouj, Fa hian, marching fifty miles to the S.W., found himself in the great kingdom of Lucknow, or Oude according to

[1] San tsang fâ sou, which means, M. Remusat says, "The numbers of the law of the three treatises [psychological, religious, and mythological,] and which may be expressed in Sanskrit by Tri pitaka, dharma Sankhya." Page 110.

Klaproth, but Professor Wilson inclines to Cawnpoor. In this chapter [19th], is the first indication or mention of Brahmanical hostility.—Fa hian says, "On passing out of the town of Cha tche, by the southern gate, is found, to the east of the road, the place where Buddha nipped a branch of the nettle-tree, and planted it in the earth. The branch grew to the height of seven feet, and has never since augmented or diminished. *The Brahman heretics, animated by envy and jealousy,* cut it down, or pulled it up, to throw it to a distance, but it always reappeared in its former place." It was evidently not suffering from Brahmanical envy when Fa hian saw it.

Fa hian says there were four stations in the country where towers were erected to Buddha[1], and which still existed. Forty miles to the South brought Fa hian to Che wei, or Sravasti according to Wilson, in Kosala, or Oude, but then reduced from its former magnificence to 200 houses. Numerous towers were here, and mention is made for the second time of the unavailing jealousy of the Brahmans, who would have destroyed the towers, but the celestial terrors of thunder and lightning came to their preservation. This is the country of Rama, of which Ayodhya was the capital, and yet both country and capital had been eminently Buddhist, and were so still, although declining, and no mention or allusion whatever is made to Rama or his celebrated history in Fa hian or the Commentaries; had the Ramayana been then written, it would most probably not only have been known to the Buddhists, from the minute details they have given of Hindu heresies[2], implying an acquaintance with Hindu works; but very likely it would have been noticed by them. M. Remusat has a note and query, whether Rama's country ought not to be looked for in some other part of India[3]?

The king of Sravasti, at the period of Sakya's ministry was his own cousin Prasenajit[4], called by Fa hian, Pho-sse-ho [Prasena], and it was his minister Soudâtâ who erected at this place one of the eight most celebrated temples or towers of India to Buddha [Sakya] which was known equally by the Chinese as the Indians by the Pali name Jéto, or Sanskrit name Djetâ, Dejetâvana. The other seven were,

[1] Page 170.

[2] I have previously noticed that the mention of *China* in the *Ramayana*, as well as in the *Institutes of Menu*, would place the date of their composition after the second century B C.

[3] Page 177.

[4] This personage is mentioned in the solar line of Ayodhya of the *Puranas*, and Sir William Jones places the fourth successor from him, Vrihadsana, 1300 B.C.; Prasenajit, therefore, by this calculation, ought to be about 1400 B.C. ! !

one at Kapila, one on the banks of the river Ni lian in Magadha, one at Benares, in the deer-park, one at Kanouj, one at Rajagáhá, one at the "handsome city," and finally one at Kouchiná. All these Stoupas recorded some great event in the life of Sakya[1].

Fa hian describes a Buddhist temple at about 1200 paces outside the South gate of the town. It had two pillars, the pillar on the left hand, had the representation of a *wheel* on it, and that on the right, an *ox*. These notices are of considerable importance, as they explain the reason of the appearance of the wheel and bull upon the numerous Buddhist coins from Affghanistan, Canouj, Ougein, and Gujarat[2]. M. Remusat's note says, that the wheel is a familiar emblem of the Buddhists, emblematical of the successive passages of the soul in the circle of existences; also of universal dominion [Chakravarti], and it was efficacious in praying when TURNED ROUND WITH PRAYERS STUCK UPON IT! The gardens, shrubberies, flowers, and reservoirs of pure water about the temple, are described by Fa hian as delightful.

Sakya's cousin, King Prasena[3], was the first to make a statue of him in sandal-wood, which was the model of all the subsequent statues of Buddha. Hence he must have been a Buddhist. It was placed in the great temple of seven stages, but a rat having carried off the lighted wick of one of the lamps, the temple was set on fire, and it was burnt down. The statue of Buddha, however, was not injured. The rats have not forgotten their ancestral habits, for within my knowledge precisely similar circumstances have occasioned the destruction of several houses in our cantonments in India. Fa hian describes a multitude of pilgrims from all countries being assembled at this temple, but the inhabitants or resident priests said they had never before known Chinese pilgrims to arrive.

Fa hian goes on to say "Hence, to the eastward of the road there is a chapel of the gods of the heretics sixty feet high, immediately opposite to one in honour of Buddha. Formerly, the Brahmans disputing the honours given to Buddha, the shadow of the temple of Buddha, with the setting sun, fell daily upon the chapel of the

[1] Page 180.

[2] The appearance of a bull upon the coins in the first instance had led to a belief of their having some relation to the worship of Siva; but the various emblems and monograms upon the same coins showed that they could not have a Hindu origin; and this mention by Fa hian, of a bull carved upon a Buddhist temple, shows the compatibility of the association of this animal with Buddhism.

[3] There is a Prasenajit in the Vesala line of the Solar race in the *Useful Tables*; but he is the fifth before Sumetra, whom Sir William Jones places 2100 years B.C., and Colonel Todd 57 years B.C. The chroniclers are evidently at fault!

heretics; but with the rising sun, the shade of the chapel of the heretics, would not fall on the temple of Buddha, but fell to the North. This miracle converted the Brahmans, and they became good Buddhists. The only object in quoting this puerile story of Fa hian's is in attestation of the Brahmans having temples to the gods [although there is not any mention of images], evidently before the fourth century[1]. M. Remusat has here a note on the subject of Brahmans which in the end I shall have occasion to quote.

Fa hian states that there were formerly round the great temple, NINETY-EIGHT MONASTERIES all provided with proper cells. He adds there are now ninety-six sorts of sectaries; each having numerous disciples, some of whom honour the three Buddhas of times past. From his details they evidently did not differ much from the orthodox Buddhists, and they may be the originals of the Jains. M. Remusat says this mention of the veneration of the Buddhas, predecessors of Sakya, is important, carrying as it does Buddhism into great antiquity.

Fa hian mentions that at about a mile and a quarter to the S.E. of Sravasti is the spot where Buddha [Sakya] interposed himself to prevent King Sieou li, the son of Prasenajit[2] of Kosala, from attacking the tribe of Sakya, of Kapila, the latter being the native country of Buddha, and the Sakyas being of his own family and tribe. A tower was on the spot. M. Klaproth has no hesitation in expressing his opinion that this Kapila is the native country of Sakya, and that it is the present Fyzabad, or Oude, and the ancient Ayodhya[3]. He considers that it was tributary to Magadha, whence the belief that Magadha was the native country of Sakya;—but a Chinese map places Kapila to the N. of Benares and the kingdom of Ayodhya, Kosala and Kausambi. It was, therefore, on the banks of Rohini or Rohein: Professor Wilson places it N. of Gorakhpur, near where the branches of the Rapti issue from the hills, but all these authorities have a close approximation in their locations of Kapila.

This chapter is finished by Fa hian's stating that at about seventeen miles to the W. of Sravasti is the birth-place of Sakya's predecessor, the Buddha Kassapo, *and the tower there contained the relics of his entire body!* Hence, forty-eight miles to the S.E. carried Fa hian to the birth-place of Sakya's predecessor, Buddha Kakusando a place which must have been at the foot of the Nepal hills, above

[1] Page 175.

[2] The *Puranas* mention Taeshaka as the successor of Prasenajit.—Vide *Useful Tables.*

[3] Page 201.

Gorakhpur. These facts afford further proofs that the belief in the succession of Buddhas, was itself very ancient.

This chapter of Fa hian terminates M. Remusat's invaluable labours: death stopped his hand, and M. Klaproth takes up the translator's office, like his predecessor, alas! to be cut off in the midst of his splendid career; and it remained for M. Landresse to bring their labours before the public in a manner most honourable to them and to himself.

Four miles to the eastward of the birth-place of the Buddha Kakusando, was the celebrated city of Kapila, the birth-place of Sakya himself, and the scene of many events of his life. Fa hian found it a solitude, there was neither king nor people. There were only the ecclesiastics, and a few houses of the lower classes. Nevertheless, although the city had disappeared, the Kingdom remained; for the Chinese annals mention ambassadors coming to China from Kapila, A.D 428, after Fa hian was in the country, and also in A.D. 466. The palace of the King, Sakya's father, Suddhodana, was here; here also were the gates out of which he issued on excursions by the command of his father, to divert his mind from his religious contemplation, and which I have previously noticed. Fa hian enumerates many spots connected with events in the life of Sakya; and on each spot a tower or column was erected to commemorate the event.

Fa hian also records the visit of Ai, the Tao szu or Lao tseau [in Sanskrit तपस्वी tapasvi or ascetic] who came from his solitudes to see the infant Sakya. The Chinese identify him with the Tao szu of China who existed there *before* the introduction of Buddhism; and they were called by the Chinese "*doctors of reason.*" It does not follow, as I shall have occasion to show by the means of Mr. Turnour, and, indeed, as I have shown by Arrian, that these ascetics were connected with Brahmanism or Hinduism, but rather that they appeared to be Buddhist sectaries; their *emblem* was the Buddhist mystic cross, and Sakya tells two of them that they had made considerable progress towards the dignity of "ARHAN." The Japanese chronology gives dates for all the events mentioned by Fa hian, which dates range between B.C. 1018 to the date of Sakya's becoming a priest, which is fixed in 998 B.C.

Fa hian's mention of the tribe of the Sakyas brings forth a note of M. Klaproth's, with quoations from the 26th volume of the *Tibetan Kăh ghyour,* by M. Csoma de Körös, and from the *Pali Mahawanso,* by M. Burnouf, making the lineage of the Sakyas[1] abso-

[1] शाक्य

lutely identical with that of Rama, descended from Ikswaku of the solar line, and founder[1] of the royal race of Ayodhya, or Oude, which Ikshwaku, B.C. 3500, came from Potala, which means the port [the modern Tatta], at the mouths of the Indus. He obtained the hand of a princess on condition of any child by her succeeding to the throne to the exclusion of former children. She had a child; the former children, (four brothers,) Rama and Lakshmana like, were banished; they emigrated to Kapila, and became the race of Sakyas. This is the identical story of Rama and his salacious father, and though from a Tibetan source, it is confirmed by the Hon. Mr. Turnour in his translation of the *Mahawanso, Introduction*, p. 35, and by M. Burnouf, from this same source. However this may be, it is certain Sakya's family came into possession of Ayodhya! Of course the Sakyas neither appear in the Puranic lists as a people, nor as a tribe; exist they did, nevertheless!!

Amongst other places Fa hian mentions the spot in the garden where Sakya was born on his mother stepping out of the bath. Fa hian simply says that two kings of the Dragons [the Coluber Nag is to be understood by these], washed the infant: but Buddhist legends, probably subsequent to Fa hian's time, say that Indra and Brahma and the four kings of the sky and their suite of Devatas attended the birth, and that Indra and Brahma wrapped the infant in a celestial robe, and afterwards escorted it and its mother to the king. Here again is no mention of Siva and Vishnu, who had they been known to the Buddhists, would, no doubt, in common with Indra and Brahma, have been made to do homage to the wonderful infant[2].

Fa hian concludes the chapter by saying that the kingdom of Kapila, although teeming with monuments of Buddhism, was then a great solitude, the knots of people were few in number and widely separated; and in travelling the roads it was necessary to take precautions against white elephants[3] and lions. In fact the present formidable Taraí jungle had begun to overwhelm the habitations of man, but the Buddhist monuments are daily discovered in attestation of the truth of Fa hian.

Hence twenty miles to the east took Fa hian to the kingdom of Lan mou, a name not now identifiable, but he must have got to the very base of the Nepal hills, to the N. or N.E. of Gorakhpur. The king of the country, having obtained a relic of Buddha, had built a tower over it; adjoining was a tank. Fa hian says the place was solitary and sterile, and not long since there were not any persons to attend to watering and sweeping the temple; but elephants of

[1] Page 215. [2] Page 220. [3] Page 199.

themselves performed the office of watering the ground, sweeping the Buddhist Chaitya or tower, and collecting flowers for it. There were some Tao sse [doctors of reason] from various countries who had come to venerate the relics, but encountering the elephants, they took fright, and clambered up into trees; but discovering what the elephants were about, they were so much touched by their pious labours that they became orthodox Buddhists, and they laboured to convert the king and induce him to erect an establishment for the ecclesiastics; and in effect Fa hian found a monastery and ecclesiastics serving the temple. Fa hian says the tradition respecting the Tao sse was not of a remote period. We see here, from the Tao sse going to venerate the relics of Buddha. that at *least* they must have been Buddhist sectaries. M. Klaproth has a note, saying, in Tibetan they are called "sectaries of the mystic cross, called in Sanskrit Swastica 卐" and that their doctrine was the ancient religion of Tibet until the introduction of orthodox Buddhism in the ninth century; he points out the fact that the Tao sse "Ai," on the birth of Sakya, went to Kapila to draw his horoscope; and calls attention to the frequeut mention by Fa hian of their existence in central Asia and India, and adds, "It appears they were diffused over the countries to the west and south-west of China." In the extracts from the life of Buddha, in the *Chin i tian,* cited p. 282, two Tao szu are spoken of as greeting Sakya when he was prince, and about assuming the religious habit. They are described as having attained the five supernatural faculties, and completed the four contemplations; and as these acquisitions are steps towards the dignity and holiness of Arhan, they must plainly have venerated some Buddhist principles; but Sakya bluntly tells them, although they knew so much, they had yet to learn the supreme reason[1]. The facts mentioned by Fa hian and the opinions of M. Klaproth are of considerable importance, as they give us a glimpse of religious doctrines prior to Sakya's appearance; not unlikely to be the corrupted doctrines of Kassapo, or the other preceding Buddhas.

Fa hian mentions that Asoka wished to take down and rebuild the tower at Lan mo, in addition to those he raised in other parts of India. The Chinese-Japanese chronology says the number of towers raised by Asoka was 8000, and the date of their erection was 833 B.C. Twelve miles to the east of the town of Lan mo, Fa hian found the spot whence Sakya sent his chariot and white horse back to his father's city, when he abandoned his home and took the religious habit. Here a tower had been erected.

[1] Page 230.

Fa hian's next journey of twelve miles to the east carries him to the tower raised over the spot where Sakya's body was burnt; there was here also a monastery. Hiuan thsang says the tower was thirty Chinese toises high, and that it was situated in a forest of Indian fig-trees [Ficus Indica], and that in the monastery of this tower were the thrones of the *four preceding* Buddhas[1]!! Forty miles east from this tower, Fa hian found the city of Kusinara [city of the Kousa grass], evidently near to the present Bettiah. Between two trees[2] N. of the town on the banks of the river Gandak, Buddha breathed his last at the age of 80. Hiuan thsang gives a particular description of the trees of this forest; and mentions the sculptures representing the death of Buddha. In the neighbourhood there were numerous towers, columns, or other memorials of Buddha, and Fa hian and Hiuan thsang describe a column with an inscription upon it, recording Buddha's death. A column exists at the present day, very probably that seen by the Chinese travellers, of which a drawing and copy of the inscription is given in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* for October, 1834. It was discovered by Mr. Hodgson, the resident in Nepal. The inscription in the old Pali [or primitive Deva Nagari] language and character has been deciphered by the extraordinary ingenuity and tact of the lamented Mr. Jas. Prinsep, and is found to be an edict of As-o-ko, the Buddhist monarch of all India, B.C. 325 to B.C. 288, against the destruction of animal life, and enjoining the observance of Buddhism; so that the Chinese pilgrims must have been misinformed with respect to the purport of the inscription. The same inscription is engraved on the columns of Dehli, Allahabad and Mattiah, and in Cuttack and Gujarat on rocks. In confirmation of the locality being anciently devoted to Buddhism, Mr. Liston, in June 1837, discovered in Perganah Sidowa, in the eastern division of Gorakhpur, at a place called Kuisa a colossal alto-relievo figure of Buddha surrounded by compartments in which were represented various actions of his life; and in the neighbourhood were several heaps and mounds of rubbish, no doubt the remains of a Buddhist city.

The date of the death of Buddha, according to the Chinese and Japanese, has already been given. Hiuan thsang says, respecting the date of Buddha's death, that the accounts differ; some fixing it at 1500, others at 1300, 1200, 900 and 1000 years before HIS TIME. Now as he wrote AD. 640; these dates place the death of Buddha at 860, 660, 560, and as late as 360 B.C.

Over the spot where the eight kings shared the relics of Buddha

[1] Page 236. [2] *Sal. Shorea robusta.*

after the body was burnt, a tower was erected; all the towers, and several monasteries, still existed, and were seen by Fa hian, but the population of the city was small, chiefly consisting of the ecclesiastics and the families of the lower classes. The *Ni pan king*, a Chinese work, states, with respect to the eight kings or people sharing the relics of Buddha, that they marched troops for the purpose of carrying them off, but at the persuasion of a BRAHMAN they consented to share them, and the following was the distribution.

1. The *heroes* of the town of Kiu chi one part. They raised a tower or Chaitya over them.

2. The *laymen* of the kingdom of Pho kian lo pho, one part. They raised a tower.

3. The Kiu liou lo of the kingdom of Szu kia na pho. Do. do.

4. All the *Kshatryas* of the kingdom of A le tche, one part. They raised a tower.

5. All the *Brahmans* of the kingdom of Phi neou, one part. They raised a tower.

6. All the Li tche of the kingdom of Phi che li. Do. do.

7. All the Sakyas of the kingdom of Tche, lo kia lo. Do. do.

8. The king A tche chi of the kingdom Mo kia tho. Do. do.

If the word Brahman be understood in the Hindu sense, it is not very intelligible how a Brahman adversary should interfere to distribute the relics of Buddha amongst Buddhist princes, or how the *Brahmans of the kingdom of Phi neou should take a share of the relics of Buddha and raise a tower over them!* But if the Brahmans be looked upon as a *tribe*, and secular persons, as is asserted by the Buddhists, we can understand that there might be Buddhist Brahmans, as well as Buddhist Sakyas, or Buddhist Sudras,—as there are Brahman Jains to this day.

Eighty miles to the S.E. carries Fa hian to the scene of many other events in Buddha's life; and here again the unvarnished truth of the simple traveller is confirmed. He speaks of a pillar being raised by Sakya's family, with an inscription on it; also a tope commemorating the REPUBLICAN inhabitants of Vaisâli, [Allahabad,] called the Lichchiwi, who wanted to accompany Buddha when he put off his existence [Nirvana]. Professor Wilson points out, that following the Gandak for about seventy miles there is a stone pillar at present standing near to Bakra[1]. The inscription is not visible; but as half the column is buried in the earth the inscription probably exists; and the column is no doubt the one alluded to by Fa hian.

[1] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, March, 1835.

The remains of a tower or tope are close by, and an image of Buddha with the celebrated moral stanza:—

"Ye dharma hetu prabhava." &c. &c.

engraved upon it has been met with.

Twenty miles further to the east, Fa hian enters the city of Vaisáli[1]. The garden given by a *Thais* of the town to Buddha was still in existence, also several towers; some of them raised to commemorate foolish legends. Hiuan thsang visited Vaisáli 200 years afterwards, and found the city in ruins, although he says its foundations had then a circuit of 20 to 23 miles, and the palace or innner fort had a circuit of 1½ to 1¾ miles. There were then, the ruins of more than 100 monasteries; and of the three to five that remained, the few ecclesiastics had about ten chapels, and did not appear to be much better than accomplices of the heretics living mingled with them. The faith of the people was a mixture of false and true. The country was rich and populous, and the people happy and contented. The republic had a circuit of about 1600 or 1700 miles. Hiuan thsang does not make any mention of feuds between the Buddhists or the heretics or of any violence on the part of the latter. We may infer therefore that the Saiva's had not yet attained to power, even if their doctrines had spread; and they had certainly not commenced their acknowledged persecution in A.D. 638!

Fa hian says that it was at Vaisali[2] that a begging priest, 100 years after the death of Buddha, reduced his doctrines to writing: these were examined by 700 ecclesiastics [Arhans and other priests]; and people afterwards, to commemorate the event, built a tower on the spot which Fa hian saw. A Mongol history, according to Klaproth[3], refers this collection and reduction to the time of Bimbisaro[4], king of Magadha, and a contemporary of Buddha. Nevertheless, in the 110th[5] year after Buddha, B.C. 433, when king Asoka reigned,

[1] The Modern Allahabad.

[2] Vaisali, the present Allahabad, the seat of so many Buddhist traditions and events during 900 to 1000 years, is fabled by the Brahmanists to have been founded by Visala, of the race of Ikshwaku and Alambusha. Rama and Lakshmana visited it. In 157 B.C., the great monastery called the Mahawanno wiharo at Allahabad, and the city and neighbourhood, sent 18,000 Buddhist priests under Baddharakkito, a chief priest, to take part in laying the foundation-stone of the great Thupo, or temple in Ceylon. *Mahawanso*, chap. 29, p. 171.

[3] Page 248. [4] B.C. 603.

[5] There must be a mistake here, as Asoka did not reign in the 110th year after the death of Buddha, but in the 224th year. The Mongol date of the convocation differs only ten years from the date assigned in the Pali annals of Ceylon; but Fa hian, with his accustomed accuracy, confirms the exact date of the second *convocation*, as recorded in the *Mahawanso*.

700 Arhans assembled in Vaisali, and settled the doctrine. But in consequence of some novel opinions broached by Mahadeva in the convent of Djalamdhara, when Kanika was king of Gatchou or Gatchi, 500 Bodhisattwas, 500 Arhans, and 500 Panditas assembled at the above convent in Kachmir, and settled the doctrine. Another Mongol history makes the first convocation to take place immediately after the death of Buddha, under the presidency of his favourite disciple Ananda,—the other two convocations taking place at the time specified. The *Mahawanso* of Ceylon mentions three convocations[1], *and it is curious to find this accordance from the extremities of Asia, and from the books of such widely-separated nations as the Mongols, the Ceylonese,* the Chinese, the Burmese, and the Siamese. The Chinese work, the Fou fa thsang yaan King, contains the following remarkable notice respecting Ananda: "After the death of Buddha, he collected 500 pious men in the CAVERN of Pi pho lo [the tree of Photi], and jointly with them collected the Vinayas[2]." Of Kassapo, another of Buddha's disciples, the same work says, "he collected a great assembly in the CAVERN of Pi pho lo, and in other places, and arranged the Abidharmas[3]." From these passages, it would appear that cavern excavations must have been contemporary with *or even prior* to Buddha [Sakya]: for it is not to be supposed a cavern capable of containing 500 persons could have been prepared between the time of Buddha's death and the first convocation under Ananda, in the very year of Buddha's death. A natural cavern is out of the question; for we see too many *hundreds, not to say thousands* of Buddhist excavations in the rocks in India, the remains of antiquity, not to be satisfied that their preparation was part of the Buddhist religious system.

Sixteen miles from Vaisali [near the present Sinhiya], Fa hian came to the place called the Confluence of the Five Rivers. Three of them are immediately identifiable,—the Gandak, the Ganges, and the Sone; the other two may have been formed by two branches of the Ganges, or other rivers are not far off to make up the number. Here *Ananda* ascended the funeral pile[4] on an island on the river, and his relics, like those of his master Sakya, were claimed by princes, the

[1] The first being held at Rajagaha, B.C. 543; the second at Wesali [Vaisali or Allahabad] B.C. 443; and the third took place B.C. 309, at Patna [Pataliputto] when Asoko was emperor.—TURNOUR's *Mahawanso.*

[2] Portions of Buddhist Scripture.

[3] Ibid.

[4] We have here an instance of accordance in the customs of the Buddhists and the Gymnosophists, in the case of Calanus, the Gymnosophist, who accompanied Alexander from Taxila to Persia, who when the infirmities of age came upon him,

king of Vaisali [he must have been elected, as it was a republic], and the king of Magadha shared them, and had towers built over them. This was an early corruption of Buddhism, for the disciple's memory was made to be honoured in the same manner as the master's.

Fa hian crossed the Ganges, and at four miles to the south he came to the city of Patna[1] [Patalipura, or Pupphapura, or Palibothra, of the Greeks, but not exactly on the site of the modern town.] This was the capital of the celebrated king of all India, As-o-ko, or Piyadasi, son of Bindusaro, whose edicts are now found engraved on rocks from Cuttack to Girnar in Gujarat, and on the Delhi and other columns; and who was not only the great patron of Buddhism, but also *apparently*, in his zeal, an innovator on its doctrines; for he *interdicted* the taking away of animal life, which could not have been part of Buddha's doctrines, as he died of indigestion from eating pork! Fa hian found the magnificent palace of Asoko still standing, built of stone, the windows of which were ornamented with such admirable sculptures and engravings as far exceeded the ability of the then age to produce[2].

Fa hian, after speaking of the Buddhist orthodoxy and piety of Asoko's son, Mahindo, [Pali,] [Mahendra, Sanskrit,] who chiefly spent his time in contemplation in the mountain called the Peak of the Vulture, in Central Bahar, [where, in chapter 29, we learn were

burnt himself, *Ananda like*, on the funeral pile [*πυρα*], *after the manner of his country*, [*ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ κλίνης γὰρ κομισθῆναι φερόμενον, ἐςεφανωμένον τε τῷ Ἰνδῶν νόμῳ, καὶ ᾄδοντα τῇ Ἰνδῶν γλώσσῃ.* Lib. VII. Cap. iii.] before the whole Greek army.

[1] In Magadha or Bahár. This kingdom sent an embassy to the emperor of China, Tai tsoung, A.D. 647. Between A.D. 650 and 683, the emperor Kao tsoung sent an ambassador to Patna, who raised a monument with an inscription upon it in the temple of Mo ho phon thi. Subsequently, the emperor Te tsoung, between A.D. 780 to 804, had an inscription made upon a bell which he presented to the temple of Na lan tho at Patna. This is the last mention of Berar met with in Chinese historians.—Klaproth, page 256. These facts prove that Buddhism was not extinct at Patna in the ninth century. The inscription in the temple may yet be found in the ruins of old Patna. The origin of the name in Sanskrit is Pataliputra पाटलिपुत्र; in Pali, Pupphapura, or Pátaliputto, Child of the tree [Bignonia suaveolens], derived from a Buddhist legend. In A.D. 640, Hiuan thsang found it in ruins, and overrun with jungle, although its circuit was then nearly twenty-three miles; but even Old Patna, although the capital of the Buddhist emperors, was comparatively recent in relation to the origin of Buddhism; the seat of government having been removed to it from Rajagáhá [Sanskrit Rajagriha], page 257. In 157 B.C., the priest Mattinno took with him to Ceylon 60,000 Buddhist priests from the fraternity of 100,000, in connexion with Asoko's great monastery at Patna, to assist in laying the foundations of the great Thupo, or temple, or shrine, in Ceylon, built by King Dutthagamini.—*Mahawanso*, chap. 29, p. 171.

[2] Page 252.

many hundred caverns or cells for the ecclesiastics,] has the following remarkable words. "At that time [As-o-ko's reign[1]] there was a Brahman of the transcendental or metaphysical[2] section of the [Buddhist] priesthood living in Patna [Pataliputto], of unbounded knowledge, prudence, and ability; whose conduct was so pure that the king paid him all possible honour, and for fifty years the whole kingdom looked to this single individual with the utmost confidence. He so advanced and diffused the doctrine of Buddha, that heresy could not prevail against it." In the acceptation in which the word Brahman is usually received by Europeans, a "Brahman Buddhist priest" seems an incongruous term; but I believe I shall have the means of showing that these terms of Fa hian afford an additional proof that the term Brahman was a civil and not a religious distinction, for there are Brahman Jains to this day.

Fa hian found many monasteries in Patna, inhabited by six or seven hundred ecclesiastics of the Ethical section; but the religious of the highest virtue belonged to the transcendental class. There were also colleges of a grave and majestic architecture, where Buddhist priests and students from all parts of the world assembled, who were desirous of informing themselves in philosophy; and here again follows a curious passage, Fa hian saying the "Masters or instructors of the *children of the Brahmans* were called Mandjousri," from a *Buddhist* personage of that name at the head even of the Bodhisattwas, who are next to the Buddhas. M. Klaproth says, from Chinese authority, that it was an honourable title applied only to the *most learned* of the Brahmans; but it could not have been applied to them at all, had they been *heretical* Brahman priests! Fa hian adds: "those of the begging ecclesiastics who inhabit the monasteries are all from *Central India*[3]," which M. Klaproth designates as comprising the modern provinces of Allahabad, Agra, Delhi, Oude, and Bahar, extending however, to the West, to the Vindhya mountains.

Fa hian next describes the state in which he found the kingdom of Central India, speaking of it as if it were under one king in his time. The cities and towns were large, the people rich, and they loved discussions; but they were charitable and just in their actions. Annually, on the eighth day of the month Mao [the early part of May], being the birthday of Sakya Muni, a four-wheeled car, with a building of five stages upon it, one above the other, so that the whole looked like a tower, was hung with carpets, and *white felt*; upon which were painted the figures of the "*celestial divini-*

[1] B.C. 325 to 288 B.C. [2] Maha Yana.

[3] मध्यदेश, Madhyadesa.

ties[1]." The whole was ornamented with gold, and silver, and embroidery, and COLOURED GLASS. Above all was a roof or canopy of embroidered stuff; and at the four corners were contrived little chapels, in each of which was a seated figure of Buddha, with erect figures of Bodhisattwas by the side of each. There were probably twenty of these cars; and all the world was in the streets; there were theatrical representations, feats of the athletæ, concerts of music, and at night illuminations; hospitals were opened for the sick, cripples, and orphans; and everything was done to solace and relieve them by the representatives of the different chiefs of the kingdom residing in the city. People flocked from the provinces; the *Brahmes*, [whether this means the Brahmans or not I do not know] visited Buddha, and the Buddhists arrived and located themselves according to their order[2]. This celebration, procession, pyramidal car, and accompaniments, recalls Jagannath's procession, whose temple exists in a country not only once eminently Buddhist, but apparently on or near the very site of the chaitya, which held the tooth-relic of Buddha before its transfer to Ceylon, where *it now rests under English lock and key!* The temple of Jagannath also was not built until after the decline of Buddhism, and the Hindu procession looks as if it had its type in that of Buddha.

Fa hian says, the great tower or tope built by As-o-ko stood about a mile south of the city, and in front of it was the print of Buddha's foot. South of the town was a stone column with an inscription upon it to this effect: "The King As-o-ko having thrice made a present of all India to the priests of Buddha, thrice bought it back from them at the price of all his treasures." Hiuan thsang, two centuries afterwards, saw the print of the foot and the column, but describes the inscription on the latter as almost effaced[3]. At 4 or 500 paces to the north of the tower, according to Fa hian, King As-o-ko built the town of Ni li, in the centre of which was erected a column surmounted by a lion[4], and an inscription was placed on the column, recording the foundation of Ni li, the reason for it, and the year, the month, and the day of the foundation. Hiuan thsang speaks as if Ni li were a palace.

The above columns may yet be found buried in the neighbourhood of Patna, on the site of the old city. From Patna Fa hian

[1] These divinities, according to the Buddhist ideas, would be Indra, Brahma, the Regents of the Sky, &c. &c.; but all *inferior* in dignity even to the Arhans.

[2] The anniversary is kept to this day in Buddhist countries.

[3] Page 261.

[4] Two similar columns at Mattiah and Bakra have been described in the J. A. S. B.; but the column near to Patna would be invaluable were it found, as it would fix the date of As-o-ko's reign without question.

moved thirty-six miles to the S.E., to the mountain Indrasilaguha[1], where was a great but *low* cavern or excavation, according to Hiuan thsang, with tracings on the rocks, said to be by Indra when he interrogated Buddha. This cavern no doubt still exists in Bahar, although undescribed.

Four miles to the S.W. Fa hian found a tower built where Saripatto[2], a famous disciple of Buddha, died. Four miles further to the West was the new Rájagahá[3], built by Ajata Sattu of the Hindus, as Professor Wilson says, which As-o-ko abandoned, and founded old Patna. There were two monasteries and a magnificent tower in the place. Quitting the town by the south at the distance of a mile and a quarter, was the valley which led to the five mountains, which formed, as it were, the walls of the ancient city of Rajagaha, the residence of As-o-ko's ancestor Bimbisaro[4], the father of Ajata Sattu. From West to East it had an extent of about two miles, and from North to South from three to four miles: there were some Buddhist remains, but the place was entirely desolate and uninhabited[5]; and the site of the city, even, is pretty generally unknown to Europeans, although Dr. Buchanan mentions it in his *Statistics of Bahar*.

It would appear that the peak of the vulture was on one of the five mountains surrounding the old town of Rajagaha, and it was the highest, being about five miles S.E. up the valley. On the mountain was the throne of the *four Buddhas*, affording further proof of the belief in three Buddhas previous to Sakya. In the same hill was the cavern of Sakya, and several hundred cells for the Arhans. These should be looked for and described. Fa hian hired two Buddhist mendicants as guides to conduct him to the grottoes in the peak, and taking perfumes, flowers, and lamps, he made his offerings; but the memory of Buddha's association with the place, and the desolation in which he found it, brought tears into his eyes. He remained there one night. Returning from the old to the new town

[1] इन्द्रशिलागुहा the cavern of Indra's rocks.

[2] Saripatto is mentioned in the *Mahawanso*.

[3] राजगृह in Sanskrit. Rajagaha in Pali.

[4] The Vimbasara of the Puranas.—Prof. Wilson. Bimbisaro is in the Buddhist chronology; but not in Prinsep's Dynasty of the Magadha Kings, *derived from the Puranas*.

[5] Yet this desolated site, which Fa hian required guides to explore, about 569 years before his visit, was teeming with population; and the profound Buddhist teacher, Indagatto, led 8000 Buddhist priests from Rajagaha to Ceylon, to take part in laying the foundations of the great Thupo or temple at Anuradhapura.—*Mahawanso*, chap. 29, p. 171. The magnificence of this temple had not declined when Fa hian was in Ceylon.

he passed a Buddhist chapel served by ecclesiastics, which was still in existence at Hiuan thsang's visit. Fa hian mentions also the spot where the *sacred books* were collected by Ananda and the 500 Arhans, after the death of Sakya, and he notices many excavations for meditation in the mountains.

Thence passing sixteen miles to the west, he came to the town of Gaya[1], a place peculiarly sacred to the Buddhists, partly on account of Buddha having there undergone sufferings for six years, and partly on other accounts; and in modern times not less sacred to the Brahmanists, although at a locality a little removed, but still near the Fulgo river. Professor Wilson attributes the absence of mention of the Hindu Gaya by Fa hian to sectarial resentment, but this very absence of mention seems a proof that the Hindu Gaya *was not then in existence,* for Fa hian has elsewhere no concealments respecting the temples of the heretics. Fa hian found the City of Gaya deserted: and Hiuan thsang says he found only about a thousand families of *Brahmans who were descended from the saints* [Buddhist][2]. Here again we find Brahmans preserving their name, although of Buddhist origin; whereas had the name *then* indicated a religious distinction, they must necessarily have lost caste and ceased to be Brahmans; nor could they become Brahmans again, their ancestors having once been Buddhists. A remarkable inscription, in Pali character and Burmese language, has recently been discovered here [1833], and published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* and Klaproth also gives it[3]; recording that the Buddhist temple originally built, B.C. 325, by King Asoko, who is called Ruler of the World, and which had three times fallen into decay and been restored, was for the fourth time rebuilt in the year A.D. 1305; and in 1306 it was consecrated, and *the famous tree called kalpa vriksha was worshipped.* Many other inscriptions have since been discovered attesting Fa hian's and Hiuan thsang's accuracy. According to Fa hian, for many miles around Gaya, there are numerous spots sanctified by some event in Sakya's life. At one place he saw the very tree under which Buddha had sat eating rice that was given to him by two girls sent by *Indra* when he was almost exhausted, and under which tree he had sat for six years enduring sufferings, and lest Fa hian should be disbelieved in his own country he very earnestly says, that in Central India, the climate is so temperate, that some trees may not only live 1000 years, but 10,000 years. Fa hian, no doubt, speaks of the Bur or Wur, Ficus Indica, or Bengalensis, which lets down roots from its branches; and may be said never to die; for it goes on renewing itself, and there is no

[1] गया. Properly Buddha Gaya. [2] Page 277. [3] Page 278.

physical impediment to the tree under which Buddha sat, and which was seen by Fa hian, being seen at the present moment! The Wur is not found I believe in China. This mention of the commencement of Buddha's sufferings gives rise to a note by M. Klaproth, giving an explanation in Buddha's own words of the cause of his being subject to these sufferings. Buddha commences by saying, "There was formerly in the territory of Benares the son of a Brahman, named Ho man, and the son of a potter named Hou hi; these children were young, and entertained a great affection for each other[1]. It is not necessary to pursue the story; but the passages contain conclusive evidence that the Brahmans could not at that time have had the sacred and exclusive character which they now pretend to, otherwise such an intimacy as Buddha describes between a Brahman's son and a Potter's son could not have existed. If such words were never spoken by Buddha, the passage at least shows the view the Indian or Chinese author of the narration entertained of the equality of Brahmans and Potters in the social system.

In this chapter [31st], Fa hian again notices the passed Buddhas, and points out a spot where they accomplished the law, Sakya amongst the rest, and where those who are to follow will do the same thing,—he points out also the place where Sakya was tempted, St. Anthony like, by the Devil, his imps, and *three young ladies:* and the spot where Brahma came to offer him a golden *wheel with one thousand spokes*, an emblem of universal spiritual dominion, but which he would not accept from Brahma. But in this chapter Fa hian runs riot in his legends; nevertheless their localities had all been commemorated by towers and images of Buddha, all of which existed in his time, and this accounts for the numerous images of Buddha which have been discovered around Gaya.

Fa hian says, at the spot where Buddha accomplished the law there were three monasteries, with establishments for the ecclesiastics, who were very numerous; and they all lived in abundance, for the people supplied them with every thing they wanted. He speaks of the grave manners and set demeanour of the ecclesiastics, and says, the precepts of Buddhism were rigidly practised. The chapter concludes by Fa hian stating that the four grand towers or topes, raised to commemorate the four chief events in Buddha's life; namely, his birth, his accomplishment of the law, his turning the wheel of the law, and his death; had been preserved *uninterrupted*, from the time of their erection until Fa hian's time; that is to say from 700 to 900 years. Of course, one of these grand towers or topes was at Buddha Gaya. The tower is gone; but the numerous rock-caves, and the

[1] Page 279. *Chin i tian*, Book 77, page 28, et seq.

numerous inscriptions in Old Pali, deciphered by Mr. James Prinsep, remove all doubt about the sanctity of this Buddhist locality.

We have here Fa hian again bearing testimony, that Buddhism had not experienced any hostility from its foundation to the time he wrote; that is to say, certainly for the preceding 900 years, according to Mr. Turnour's era of Buddha, but for 1079 years, according to Fa hian's own assertion when he gets to Ceylon.

The thirty-second chapter opens with a story about As-o-ko, which ends in his constructing a *hell* to punish criminals in [Hiuan thsang says it was at Ougein]; and this gives rise to a valuable note[1] of M. Bournouf's, in which he explains the Buddhist system of hells, of which there were no less than sixteen great hells and sixteen smaller hells.

A belief in a future state of rewards and punishments is plainly incompatible with atheism, with which the Buddhists, or a section of them, are charged.

This story about As-o-ko terminates in his repenting of having constructed a hell. A Buddhist priest preaches to him; he repents him of his sins; obtains faith; and from that time forward honours and believes in the three jewels, Buddha, the law, and the clergy. What his faith was before this time is not said. Whether he was a Doctor of Reason, or to which of the eleven heresies [Buddhist and Hindu] he inclined, is nowhere stated; but his father before him was a supporter of Brahmans.

In the thirty-third chapter, Fa hian says that he went to visit the mountain of the foot of the cock, in the heart of which Buddha's predecessor, Kassapo[2] Buddha, was supposed to have entombed himself. Fa hian says, the *doctors of reason* [Tao sse] of the Buddhist mystic cross 卍 *came annually from all kingdoms and all countries* to adore Kassapo. This statement would seem to remove all doubt with respect to the faith of the doctors of reason. They must have been Buddhists; differing, however, in some points of faith, from the followers of Sakya, who possibly appeared as a reformer of the previous existing Buddhism.

Fa hian not having yet visited the sacred city of Benares, the scene of the preachings and labours of all the Buddhas, and particularly of the initiatory labours of Sakya, retraced his steps to it from Patna. On his way he visited the temple of the "vast solitude," called in Pali, Issi pattene [so says M. Klaproth[3],] and in the *Mahawanso* it is called Isi pattana, in the neighbourhood of Benares [Báránasi in Pali]. It was one of Sakya's stations, and Fa hian found ecclesiastics still there. The *fraternity* of this temple, however, in 157 B.C., contributed 12,000 Buddhist priests under the Mahathero

[1] Page 296. [2] Page 302. [3] Page 306.

Dhammaseno, to take part in laying the foundations of the great temple or chaitya, at Anuradhapura in Ceylon[1]. So far however, from the temple's being in a vast solitude, which the Chinese name implies, it was situated in an agreeable canton. Hence Fa hian went to Benares. He describes the temple in the deer park about three or four miles from Benares, which commemorates an event in Buddha's life. The Chinese, in one of their etymologies, derive the name Pho lo nai [Báránasi in Pali or Benares] from the Buddhist term "deer-park," *as if this were the proper name of the city,* which would leave no doubt of the Buddhist origin of this *now* holy Hindu locality. Fa hian mentions also several towers in the neighbourhood, attached to which were two monasteries.

Fa hian says little about the religious state of Benares when he was there; probably, because he had previously said, that every king and kingdom eastward and southward of the Jumna was Buddhist; or probably, because he did not find anything in the state of Buddhism to call for remark. Had Buddhism been in a declining state he would have said so, and had heresy been making progress, he no doubt would have mentioned it, as was his custom elsewhere; but he does not say a syllable about an heretical temple. That Buddhism in Fa hian's time, at Benares, was not in a state to call for remark, it is fair to infer from Hiuan thsang's account of the city 200 years afterwards, in which 200 years, Buddhism was fast falling into decay. Nevertheless, when Hiuan thsang visited Benares in A. D. 630—40, he found there thirty Buddhist monasteries, and 3000 Buddhist priests and disciples; independently of 1500 priests and disciples attached to the temple in the deer-park: this temple was more than 200 feet high, and its summit was crowned with a gilded arrow, it was surrounded by about 100 chapels, each with its gilded arrow; there were in them numerous divine images gilded; and statues of Buddha and the Tathagatas in stone; *all in the attitude of turning the wheel!* He says, that the majority of the inhabitants of Benares [which contained 10,000 houses,] were heretics; that they had about 100 temples, in which were about 10,000 persons who worshipped the great god "self-existent" [Iswara]; the worshippers either cut their hair, or tied it in a knot on the top of the head, and they went naked and covered themselves with cinders[2], the elders living in constant austerities. If, therefore, Benares had thirty monasteries and 4500 Buddhist priests and disciples, in the *decline of Buddhism,* it may be well supposed they were abundantly rife 200 years before, in Fa hian's time.

There can be little doubt but Siva is intended by "self-existent;"

[1] *Mahawanso,* chap. 29, p. 171. [2] Page 307.

but there is no allusion whatever by Hiuan thsang to the Linga, which could not have failed to have struck him, had the worship of that emblem been general by the heretics. Although heretics were now so numerous in Benares, a Mongol work[1] considers that it was always the seat of Buddhism from all antiquity. Sakya's five celebrated converts, are, in this work, made to address him in the following words:—"Since thou art become the true Buddha of the world, deign to honour Benares with thy presence; for at that place has been the throne of the 1000 Buddhas of the past period." Sakya acceded to their wishes, and chose for his seat that of the three Buddhas of the present age, Kakusando, Konagammo, and Kassapo[2].

Fa hian concludes the chapter by observing, that at 59 or 60 miles to the N.W. of the deer-park was the kingdom of Kausambi[3]. He did not visit it; but learnt that there were several towers in it; and Hiuan thsang says there were about ten monasteries, in a state of dilapidation, and with not more than 300 priests[4].

Fa hian's next chapter opens with some remarkable information. He says, "About 800 miles distant from hence [Buddha Gaya], to the south, is the kingdom of the Dekhan, where there is a monastery of the passed Buddha Kassapo [Sakya's immediate predecessor]. It has been excavated in the rock of a great mountain, and has five stages or stories. The lower one is in the form of an elephant, and contains 500 stone chambers: the next is in the form of a lion, and contains 400 chambers: the third has the form of a horse, and contains 300 chambers: the fourth has the form of a bull, and contains 200 chambers: and the fifth has the form of a pigeon, and contains 100 chambers. At the upper part there is a spring, which follows the course of the rock; and, in falling, it enters the chambers, and issues by the door. In all the chambers there are windows pierced in the rock to admit the light. At the four angles of the edifice the rock had been cut into steps; but at present little ladders are used to mount to the spot where formerly some one had left the print of his foot in the rock.

"The monastery was called Pho lo yeŭ; which, in the Indian language, means pigeon[5], from some Arhans flying into the monastery; Fa hian says the monastery was inhabited permanently by Arhans, although the mountain was desert, and was some distance from vil-

[1] The history of the Origin of the Four Truths of the whole Law.

[2] Page 312.

[3] This is mentioned in the *Mahawanso*. There was a great chaitya in the capital, which Hiuan thsang also describes.

[4] Page 313.

[5] M. Klaproth suggests, from the Mahratti पारवा, the blue pigeon.

lages. The inhabitants were unacquainted with the law of Buddha[1]. Fa hian concludes by saying that the roads in the Dekhan were dangerous, and painful, and difficult to distinguish. Those who wished to travel paid a certain sum to the king of the country, who sent guides with them. Fa hian ingenuously says, he was not able to visit the monastery of the pigeon himself; and his account is derived from the people of the country."

Those who have read my Description of the Caves of Ellora, may be induced to recognise in these stupendous and magnificent works the originals of Fa hian's monastery and 1500 chambers.

Considering the constant bias of human nature to enhance the value of that in which a personal interest is mixed up, I am surprised the travellers from the Dekhan did not lead Fa hian a little more astray than they appear to have done. My description of temples supported by elephants and lions, of a temple of *three stories* [Teen lokh], of windows pierced in the rock, of multitudinous chambers, of the course of rivulets down the mountain and over and into the caves, of the uninhabited locality, and, finally, even the name may be supposed to have originated in the flocks of blue pigeons which no doubt *then*, as *now*, inhabited the perforations in the mountain: my description, I repeat, offers so many matters of approximation to the general points of the inflated and distorted accounts given to Fa hian by the people from the Dekhan, that it may fairly be permitted to us to consider that Fa hian is describing Ellora. The excavations in Salsette would afford the next approximation, and after these the wondrous labours at Junir (Jooneer), and the Ajanta Ghát. Fa hian's silence with respect to the Linga caves at Ellora, which he would have designated as those of the heretics, offers to my mind satisfactory proof that in his day they were not in existence. Apparently for the preceding 1000 years there had not been Hindu dynasties or a Hindu population sufficiently wealthy, powerful, or numerous, to have produced them.

Fa hian's silence also assists to confirm the opinion of that acute and learned orientalist, Mr. Erskine, who, in speaking of the Linga cave [that is to say, dedicated to Siva as the regenerator] at Elephanta, which is precisely similar in its design and character to the Linga caves at Ellora, [with the exception of the three-faced bust of Siva, which is only met with in small caves at Ellora,] said it [the

[1] Page 315. Fa hian probably alludes to the Goands and Bheels, who, no doubt, were as orthodox Buddhists in his time as they are orthodox Hindus or Brahmanists in present times. In fact, the religion of these singular races of men has always been of a peculiar character.

Elephanta cave] might be about 800 years old. Professor Wilson is equally indebted to Fa hian with Mr. Erskine; for though he supposes that the Linga temples at Ellora were excavated *after* those of the Buddhists, about the eighth century, *yet he inclines to a tradition*[1] *that the Buddhists did not appear in the peninsula of India before the third century after Christ*, and their excavations *therefore* could not have been made before the FIFTH OR SIXTH CENTURY. Fa hian removes all these doubts, even though the multiplied inscriptions and coins, now made available, had not converted doubt into certainty[2]!

From Buddha Gaya it would appear that Fa hian returned to Sravasti, and took up his abode in the great temple or monastery of Tchha houan, or Jeta[3], where he remained for three years, studying the language called Fan[4], and making a collection of sacred books, as he could not procure them in the north of India, the Buddhist doctrines being promulgated verbally. He then gives the details of the books he had collected; which gives rise, in the first place, to a note of M. Landresse, in which he quotes Mr. Upham, from the Singalese annals, stating that three weeks after the death of Buddha [Sakya], 500 Arhans, headed by Ananda, assembled, and in seven months reduced Sakya's doctrines to writing; and, in the next place, he quotes Mr. Hodgson, of Nepal, who says, according to the Buddhists of Nepal, the body of the law is made up of the Sutra and the Dharma, and that Sakya himself was the first to collect and

[1] Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie Manuscripts, by H. H. Wilson. Calcutta, 1828. Page 69.

[2] The remains of Buddhism in the Dekhan are even more magnificent and extensive than in its native seats on the Ganges. The cave-excavations are well known as wonderful monuments of art; but additional proofs of its prevalence are met with in the remains of the great Buddhist temples at Bhilsa and Oomrawati, and the Buddhist coins from Ougein. That this celebrated city teemed with Buddhists is attested by the Bhilsa inscriptions; but we have a new proof of the fact from the Ceylon annals, which state that B.C. 157 the Buddhist high priest Dhammarahkito took with him 40,000 disciples from the Dakkhinágiri temple at Ougein to Ceylon, to assist in laying the foundation-stone of the great temple at Anuradhapura. This was before Vikramaditya reigned in Ougein. *Mahawanso*, chap. 29, page 171.

[3] जेता in Sanskrit: the temple of the victor. Jeto wiharo, in Pali.

[4] As we find, without exception, from every *Buddhist* inscription yet deciphered, that the language was Pali, there can be little doubt the term Fan applies to that tongue. Buddhism must, indeed, have been in a flourishing state, in 157 B.C., at Sravasti [Sawatthipura, in Pali], when the Mahathero Piyadassi took with him, from the monastery of Jeto and the neighbourhood, no less than 60,000 Buddhist priests, at the invitation of King Dutthagamini of Ceylon, *to take part* in laying the foundation-stone of the great chaitya, or temple, at Anuradhapura, in Ceylon. *Mahawanso*, chap. 29, page 171.

put into writing the doctrine LEFT BY HIS PREDECESSORS, to which he added his own[1].

On quitting Sravasti, Fa hian's companion, Tao tchhing, captivated by the grave, decent, orthodox, and admirable conduct of the ecclesiastics, compared with those of his own country [the frontiers of China], resolved not to return home, but spend his life amongst them. Fa hian, whose first wish was to benefit his countrymen, by enabling them to participate in his knowledge, returned therefore alone[2].

Fa hian now descends the Ganges, and apparently in a boat, for he says, "Following the course of the Ganges to the east for seventy-two miles, there is on the right bank the kingdom of Tchew pho[3], [the ancient Tchampa, now Bhagalpur]. The Buddhist chapels on our route *appeared* inhabited by ecclesiastics;" and he passed four towers.

When Hiuan thsang visited Tchampa or Tchampapura, on the bank of the Ganges, he found it to be a city about thirteen miles in circumference. There were about ten monasteries, but they were in a bad state, not counting more than 200 ecclesiastics. The heterodox had about *twenty temples*.

Klaproth says the name of Tchampa is preservefl in the name of the town of Champanagar, close to Boglipur.

Fa hian hence passes to the eastward [no doubt descending the Ganges] for about 200 miles, and comes to the kingdom of Tomoliti[4], at the mouth of the Ganges, on the sea, now preserved in the modern Tamlouk, on the right bank of the Ganges. There were twenty-four monasteries in the kingdom, all peopled with ecclesiastics, and Buddhism was in a flourishing state. Hiuan thsang found eight or ten monasteries, inhabited, however, by 1000 ecclesiastics. The heretics had about *fifty* temples; but there is no mention of enmity or persecution. He describes Tamlouk as having a circuit of more than three miles; and it carried on a great trade, both by sea and land. By the side of the town there was one of King As-o-ko's towers, built in honour of the throne of the *Four passed Buddhas*, of which the traces remained.

[1] *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 16, page 241.

[2] Page 349.

[3] चम्पा, or चम्पापुर, according to the *Puranas*, the ancient capital of Karna, the elder brother of the Pandu princes. It was annexed to Magadha by Bimbisáro: p. 329.

[4] ताम्रलिप्ती, Támralipti in Sanskrit, Támalitti in Pali, is mentioned in the *Mahabharata* and the *Vayu* and *Márkandeya Puranas*.—WILSON.

M. Burnouf, quoting from the *Mahawanso* of the Cingalese, says that Fa hian had rendered into Chinese the Pali name of Tamalitti, and not the Sanskrit; and it would probably be found that all the Chinese travellers had done the same thing with the Indian names handled by them. In this case, at least, the city was called by the Indians by a *Pali name,* and *not* by the *Sanskrit name* met with in the Puranas.

Fa hian remained at Tamlouk two years, copying the Sacred books, and *painting* the images. Large vessels sailing to the S.W., Fa hian embarked at the commencement of winter, and in fourteen days and nights he arrived, A.D. 412, at the Kingdom of Lions, Ceylon[1]. He describes the size of the island; speaks of its pearls, the product of the sea on the coast, not only then, but from Alexander's time to the present; and one district in the island produced precious stones, just as is the case now. Hiuan thsang also visited Ceylon, and says the chief town had a circuit of nearly thirteen miles!

Fa hian unfortunately did not visit Orissa, where was one of the eight great Buddhist chaityas, and which province has recently furnished such matters of interest in its Buddhist inscriptions and remains.

I come now to Fa hian's last chapter but one. He speaks of Ceylon as originally inhabited by demons, genii, and dragons, who had, nevertheless, a taste for commerce, and in time became civilized. He says that the climate is so temperate, that the difference between winter and summer is not discernible, and that the verdure remains all the year round. We see from these simple terms how much his descriptions are to be relied upon, when he speaks from his own observation. He mentions the impression of one foot of Buddha's on Adam's peak, and that of the other to the north of the tower of the royal residence, the impressions being sixty miles apart. Over the impression to the north of the town, a tower, or tope, or chaitya, or temple, had been built, the height of which was 472 English feet [higher than St. Paul's], which was ornamented with gold and silver, and with everything the most precious[2].

The legend respecting the impression of Buddha's foot says it was at the request of Raja Samba Deva, who, addressing Buddha, said, "*Many Buddhas have left their relics here;* deign to add a jewel,

[1] सिंहल, Sinhala; that of lions.

[2] This is the great temple built 157 B.C., in laying the foundation of which several hundred thousand Buddhist priests assisted from all parts of India. *Mahawanso,* chap. 29, page 171.

and leave the impression of thy foot, which shall be a blessing to the island[1]."

There was attached to this prodigious tower, or temple, a prodigious monastery, called the "Mountain of Security," which was built by Walakarabhaya, or Deveny Paetissa, in the 456th year after Buddha, or 87 years B.C., in which were 5000 ecclesiastics. There was also a hall of Buddha, adorned with chasings of gold and silver. Amongst other precious things there was an image of Buddha of blue Jasper, twenty-three feet six inches English high; the whole body was set with precious stones, and sparkled with inexpressible splendour and majesty. The right hand held a pearl of inestimable price. Fa hian then records the touching anecdote regarding "Home, sweet home," which I noticed at the commencement of this paper. This circumstance occurred when he was worshipping in this chaitya or temple.

Fa hian mentions the introduction from Magadha into Ceylon for the first time of a branch of Sakya's tree, under which he had attained supreme wisdom; and which, from its letting down roots from the branches, must have been the *Ficus Indica, Bengalensis,* or *nitida,* and not the *Ficus religiosa* as M. Landresse supposes, which does not let down roots, nor the *Bauhinia scandens* as M. Klaproth supposes. [Fa hian, p. 215.]

In the city there was an edifice ornamented with everything precious for the sacred relic, the tooth of Buddha, which had been bought or obtained from the king of Kalinga [Orissa,] A.D. 275, by King Mahasana or Mahasen of Ceylon, who died however before its arrival in Ceylon. This celebrated relic, after falling into the power of the Malabars and the Portuguese, is now safely lodged under the lock and key of the English!!

Fa hian states the king of Ceylon was pure in his conduct, and abstained from the practice of Brahmanical rites; and the inhabitants were firm in their faith and veneration. From the foundation of the kingdom there had never been famine, death, calamities, or troubles. Fa hian is not quite correct with respect to "troubles," for in the preceding 900 years there had been three foreign usurpations, one in 237 B.C., another in 205 B.C., and the third from 103 B.C. to 90 B.C., and several of the kings had been put to death or murdered. *Mahawanso, Appendix* LXI; but Fa hian may mean religious and not political troubles. When he was in Ceylon A.D. 412-413 Maha Nama reigned.

The city was inhabited by numerous magistrates, nobles, and

[1] Page 341.

merchants, engaged in foreign commerce. The houses were handsome and the edifices well ornamented. The streets and roads were broad and straight; and at all the crossings were built *lecture-rooms*, or rather halls to preach in. The 8th, 14th, and 15th of the moon, were dedicated to high service or preachings, and a great quantity of the *four castes* assembled to hear the law. In fact, the French text may be translated, a crowd of the population of the four castes assembled to hear the law. Fa hian subsequently describes the four castes being present at the funeral pile of an Arhan, and making the offerings. [p. 351.] We have here another proof of the truth of Fa hian; the 8th, 14th, and 15th, do not accord with modern Buddhist usages; nevertheless, they were commanded to be observed more than 700 years before Fa hian's time, in the edicts of As-o-ko, on the pillars of Delhi, Allahabad, Mattra, and Radhia!! [*J. A. S. B.*, vol. vi., p. 594.] The four castes, of course, included the Brahmans, and we have in this simple expression an additional ground for supposing that the distinction of castes was civil and not religious. Under an eminently Buddhist government and an eminently Buddhist people, and where M. Laudresse says Brahmanism had *not yet* exercised any injurious influence, we find the *four castes* going to church, as it were, *periodically three times a month*, which they scarcely would have done had they been sectaries and heretics. From the reports of the people Fa hian understood that there were 50,000 or 60,000 ecclesiastics in Ceylon. In the city the king fed 5000 or 6000 in common. They lived by begging, and took no more food than their cup or begging-pot would hold[1].

I come now to a very important passage in Fa hian, affecting, as it does, the modern common belief in the era of Buddha [Sakya]. He says, "The tooth of Buddha is universally exposed to the public in the middle of the third moon. Ten days beforehand, the king having selected with care a large elephant, places on it a preacher habited in royal apparel, who goes round, and by beat of drum proclaims in detail all the events in the life of Sakya Buddha, including his sufferings [which it is not necessary for me to repeat]; and concludes with saying, "All living beings being thus saved [or having secured salvation], he [Buddha] entered into extinction [died], and since his death there have passed 1497 years! When the lights of the age ceased to burn, all mankind were oppressed with grief." The Cingalese sacred books, the *Mahawanso*, and the Buddhists of Ceylon of the present time, state that Buddha died 543 years B.C.; and yet the Buddhists in Fa hian's time, and in his hear-

[1] Buddhist priests are bound to obtain their daily food by begging.

ing, annually and formally proclaimed, by beat of drum, that Buddha died 542 years before this date, or in 1085 B.C. The discrepancy cannot readily be reconciled; but it will be borne in mind, that the Chinese, Japanese, Burmans, Siamese, and some other Buddhist nations, in their practice adopt an era closely approximating to that mentioned by Fa hian. The *Mahawanso* of Ceylon, however, is decidedly opposed to it. But I have previously shown that Professor Wilson, in the *Oriental Magazine* for 1825, quotes eleven authorities, every one of which makes the era of Buddha more than 1000 years B.C.: the earliest makes it 1336 B.C., and the latest of the eleven 1027 B.C.: four other dates, quoted chiefly for Buddha's death, are 959, 991, 960, and 835, all B.C. The simplest solution of the discrepancy exists in the belief that the dates have reference to the eras of distinct Buddhas.

Fa hian continues his description of the celebration of the festival of the tooth-relic, stating that it was carried in procession to the Monastery of Security, and that every possible honour was done to it in every possible way [he gives the details]; that the ceremonies lasted ninety days, and it was then brought back again to the city.

A mile and a quarter to the west of the Monastery of Security there was a mountain with a chapel on it, and nearly 2000 ecclesiastics lived about it; amongst the number, a Buddhist priest, of great virtue, who was held in the highest veneration by the people. He had lived for forty years in a stone house [excavation in the rock, no doubt]; and he had contrived to domesticate rats and snakes in his abode, so that they did not injure each other. We have here a prototype for the modern Hindu ascetics, who excite the awe and veneration of the vulgar by precisely similar means.

Hiuan thsang, when he visited Ceylon, found Buddhism still in a flourishing state, and he confirms most of Fa hian's accounts.

Fa hian mentions the king's having endowed a chapel, and recording his grant of lands and houses *upon iron*, concluding with the usual phraseology and terms met with on the copper plates dug up in Gujarat, Malwa, and elsewhere.

Fa hian, after spending a couple of years in Ceylon, and having obtained several books in the *Fan*[1] *language*, which were not to be

[1] Evidently Pali; for, from the origin of Buddhism, even to the present day, the sacred Buddhist works in Ceylon are in that language, with the exception of the occasional use of Singalese; and the *Brahman* convert Buddhogoso, shortly after Fa hian's visit to Ceylon, translated a part of the Buddhist scriptures then in Singalese, into *Pali*. Had Sanskrit been commonly in use, the translation by a *Brahman* would surely have been into that language, and not into *Pali*.

met with in China; embarked them and his images, and all his property, in a merchant-vessel, which was capable of accommodating 200 men. Behind this was attached a little vessel [a long-boat, probably], in case of dangers. The wind being fair, they sailed to the east for two days, but were overtaken by a tempest. The vessel leaked, and some in their fear got on board the small vessel, and the cable was cut, and she was detached. Fa hian and others laboured to keep down the leak; heavy matters were thrown overboard; and Fa hian was in great trepidation for his books and his images. He prayed heartily that the ecclesiastics might get safely back to China, trusting that the gods would protect those who had made so long a journey, with the pious object of obtaining the law! The tempest lasted thirteen days and thirteen nights, at the end of which time they found themselves at an island, where having stopped the leak, they put to sea again. The sea abounded with pirates; and it was vast, and without shores; and they directed their course *only by the sun, the moon, and the stars*; and when the weather was cloudy, *it was necessary to follow the wind without any guide*. The merchants, in consequence, were in consternation with respect to the course; but when the weather cleared up they made *easting* again.

We find from this remarkable notice, that the mariners' compass was unknown to the Chinese, or Indians, in the fifth century, although, according to Palladius [ΤΟΥ ΠΑΛΛΑΔΙΟΥ *περὶ τῶν τῆς Ἰνδίας εθνῶν, καὶ τῶν Βραγμάνων*], the loadstone [*μαγνῆτις*] was well known to the inhabitants of Ceylon [*Ταπρωβάνη*].

The terrors and troubles of the voyage are very graphically told by Fa hian. At the end of ninety days they arrived at a kingdom called Ye pho te [Yevadwipa, or Java], where the *heretics and the Brahmans* were in great numbers, but where the law of Buddha was not practised. M. Landresse, nevertheless, quotes authorities noticing the introduction of Buddhism into Java between 24 and 57 A.D.[1] Here, again, we find the Brahmans distinct as a class, and separated from the *heretics!* The terms are, "the heretics and the Brahmans."

Fa hian is the first author who mentions Java in the Chinese annals; but, A.D. 436, an embassy was sent from Java to the Emperor of China. It is not singular that at this early period Brahmans should have made their way so far to the eastward, when it is considered that at this time of their history they were actively engaged in trade and commerce, there being many on board the ship in which Fa hian was a passenger, who were taking goods to China for sale.

[1] Page 365.

Fa hian remained in Java five months, and, embarking with merchants in another vessel also of 200 souls, with fifty days' provisions, sailed to the N.E., toward Canton. At the end of thirty days they were overtaken by a frightful storm. Fa hian, with all the Chinese ecclesiastics [on board], prayed with all his soul to Kouan che[1] for succour. On the return of fine weather, the *Brahmans* counselled amongst themselves, saying, "The presence of this Buddhist priest, this mendicant, on board *our vessel*, has brought upon us all these evils; let us put him on shore on the first island. We must not, for a single man, expose ourselves to such dangers." But his protector on board said, "if they dared do so, he would denounce them to the Emperor of China." The *merchants*, in a state of doubt, did not venture, in consequence, to put him on shore. The *Brahmans*, therefore, were here the *merchants*. It might, indeed, otherwise have been well asked, without the assertion that they were traders, what object could have carried Brahmans to China in a vessel of *their own?* And even had Fa hian not answered it, by positively designating them as merchants, the plain inference would have been, that it was not as religious characters they were making the voyage in a ship of their own[2].

At last, A.D. 414, Fa hian touched the land of his fathers at Thsing tcheou; and the governor of Tschang Koung, who was a Buddhist[3], learning there were Buddhist *priests*[4], images, and sacred books on board, descended the river in a boat to the sea, and, having received them, he returned to the city. The merchants—of course including the *Brahmans*—departed for Yang tcheou [Nankin]. Those of Thsing tcheou invited Fa hian to pass a winter and a summer with them; at the end of which time, ardently desiring to get to his native place, he quitted them, but stopped in Nan king to publish his sacred books.

It is hence seen that some of the merchants on board with Fa hian must have been Chinese Buddhists, as they invited him to live with them apparently at their own homes. The Brahmans, it may be supposed, went to the grand emporium of commerce, Nankin, to dispose of their goods.

Fa hian winds up his narrative with a few simple and touching phrases. He says he spent six years before he reached Magadha

[1] Avaloketeswara, one of the ancient Buddhas.

[2] Page 361.

[3] Buddhism, therefore, had penetrated at this period to the south of China.

[4] Fa hian, therefore, had companions; although he speaks of the Brahmans conspiring to get rid of him only.

[Bahar] from China. He spent six years there, and three years more elapsed before he reached China again. In that time he traversed at least thirty kingdoms. He speaks in the strongest terms of the propriety of conduct,—the gravity of demeanour, and the piety of the Buddhist ecclesiastics of India. He says, "*I cast not back my eyes upon the past; I have been exposed to perils, and have escaped from them; I have traversed the sea, and have not succumbed under the severest fatigues; and I have had the happiness to receive these great and noble favours; and my heart is moved with emotions of gratitude that I have been permitted to achieve the great objects I had in view.*"

I cannot part with Fa hian without noticing some broad facts which he has established. The country between China and Ceylon was divided into numerous small kingdoms. Buddhism prevailed throughout, with a sprinkling of heresy. The art of making *coloured* glass *was known,* and gunpowder and the mariners' compass were unknown; and an extensive commerce by *sea* existed between India and China. Sculpture had attained a high degree of perfection [of which proofs exist in the Buddhist caves], as well as the art of working in gold and silver, of which we have also proofs in the contents of the topes which have been opened. Animal life was held sacred; and in some kingdoms criminals were not punished with death, but by banishment or fine.

From the notes of Messrs. Remusat, Klaproth, Landresse, and Burnouf, I have repeatedly quoted from the travels of Soung young in the sixth century, and those of Hiuan thsang in the seventh century. Unfortunately, *complete* translations of the works of these travellers have not yet been made; but M. Landresse attaches to Fa hian's travels a table of contents of the chapters of Hiuan thsang's work, which, as it gives glimpses of the state of India in the early part of the seventh century, 200 years after Fa hian's visit, I deem it right to quote from the analysis. Hiuan thsang not only visited all the countries noticed by Fa hian as far as Ceylon, but extended his travels into almost every part of Hindustan, including Malabar, Gujarat, Katywar, Cutch, and Scinde. His narrative has the drawback of being inflated and prolix. He is puerilely superstitious, and teems with absurd legends, and is altogether destitute of that simplicity and good faith which characterize Fa hian.

Hiuan thsang entered Affghanistan by Bamian, and passed to Cabul, traversed the kingdom of Gandhara, and, having crossed the Indus into the Panjab, he makes the *first* mention of a temple to the wife of Iswara. Whether Davai or Parvati is here meant is questionable. The Chinese speak of a Maha Iswara [Siva?], as con-

tradistinguished from Iswara; the female mentioned, therefore, is probably not Davai. Indeed, in none of the Chinese travellers is there clear testimony of the worship of Siva or Vishnu at all. The locality appears not far from that assigned to Hindus and Brahmans by Alexander's historians and Fa hian; and Professor Wilson considers a small district of the Panjab the nursery of the Brahmans, if not their birth-place and cradle.

Hiuan thsang makes an excursion into Udyana, and mentions the chains of mountains, the difficulties of the journey, the passing rivers by flying bridges, &c. A print of Buddha's foot attracts his attention; numerous localities sacred to Buddha are pointed out, monasteries named, and legends detailed. He returns to Gandhara, and crosses the Indus where it was one mile and a quarter broad; travels 280 miles to the S.E., across the mountains, which would take him through Multan, towards Bikaner. The country touched the Indus on the *west*, and was dependent on Kashmir. Many stoupâs, or topes, are pointed out, all said to have been built by As-o-ko. He returns to Ten tcha chilo, and repasses the Indus, and found that in Ou la chi, a dependency of Kashmir, the people did not follow the law of Buddha. He then visits Kashmir, 330 miles to the S.E. from Ou la chi; and says the kingdom was founded fifty years after the death of Buddha, by his disciple Ananda[1]. At the capital there were four topes, all built by As-o-ko, who was king of Magadha 100 years after Buddha. Kia hi sse kea was king of Gandhara 400 years after; and Sse ma tsia lo was king of Tou ho lo 600 years after Buddha. These names may possibly be identified on the coins brought to light in Affghanistan and the Panjab. From Kashmir he passes, after 180 miles to the S.W., into the Panjab, a *dependency* of Kashmir; and, at 130 miles further to the S.E., into Ko lo tche pou lo, a dependency of *Kashmir*. He has here the remarkable expressions, that the whole of the countries from Lan pho to Ko lo tche pou lo are *wild*, the inhabitants *brutal*, and the languages *barbarous*. No mention is made of Brahmanism, or heretics, or temples, in the Panjab; part would appear, therefore, to have been still Buddhist, from the topes yet existing, and part inhabited by the above-mentioned barbarians. Whether he applies his severe observations to the Bhattés, and to Bikaner, and Jesalmer, the probable nidus of the Rajputs, is a question. Hence, 231 miles to the S.E., is Thse kia, which was to the east of the Indus; and the capital was Tche ko lo, where formerly reigned Ma yi lo kea lo.

[1] Ananda's name is not to be found in the Raja Tarangini which was compiled several centuries *after* Hiuan thsang's visit to Kashmir.

Topes of As-o-ko[1] were there. About 170 miles to the east was Tchi ha pou ti, apparently somewhere up the Sutledge, and near the Himalayas, built by the *Chinese*. Peaches and pears were *first* introduced here *by the Chinese*.

After very long wanderings, and getting to the snowy mountains apparently up the Sutledge, and naming countries which he may not have visited, he turns south apparently from Surmour, and passing great mountains and a great river [Jumna?], he reaches Mutra; there were still three topes built by As-o-ko. 170 miles N.E. of Mutra is Sa tha ne che, called the "Land of Happiness," the capital of which had a circuit of nearly seventy miles!! Hiuan thsang must mean Delhi. One of As-o-ko's topes was here, and thirty miles south a great monastery. 130 miles to the N.E.[2] was Sou lou kin na, with the Ganges on the east, and the Jumna running through the country. The capital was on the Jumna, and here was a tope of As-o-ko's. Passing the river, to the east, is the kingdom of Mo ti pou lo, the *king of which was a Sudra.* There were several topes and monasteries at the capital. N.W. of this country, on the east bank of the Ganges, is the town of Mo iu lo [which produces rock-crystal]. At that place there is a *Brahmanical temple,* with a reservoir on the Ganges, which the Hindus call the "Door of the Ganges," no doubt meaning Hurdwar. 100 miles to the north, in the mountains, about the sources of the Jumna and Ganges apparently, is a kingdom *governed by a female,* and it is called the *Kingdom of the Women of the East*[3]. He returns to Central India, and, passing the Ganges in the kingdom of Pi lo san nou, finds the ruins of a tope built by As-o-ko. Seventy miles to the S.E. he comes to the grand tope built over Buddha's ladder, described by Fa hian. Seventy miles to the N.W. he reaches Kanouj, the king of which was *a Vaisya, or of the Merchant tribe.* There was a tope built by As-o-ko here. About thirty-three miles distant was the town of Na po thi po kiu lo, on the Ganges, *where was a Brahmanical temple*[4]. It is seen from this distinction that there were not any Brahmanical temples in Kanouj in the early part of the seventh century! From

[1] Called Dhammásoko, in Pali.

[2] Once for all, it is necessary to state that many of Hiuan thsang's bearings and distances are impossible; whether from ignorance, looseness of expression, or wilful misrepresentation, is uncertain; apparently, however, from the second cause, for there can be no doubt of his having visited most of the countries he describes.

[3] This probably refers to the Polyandry of these regions, which exists to this day.

[4] The mention of *individual* Brahmanical temples seems to indicate their *non-existence* in localities, cities, or cantons, where mention of them is omitted.

Kanouj, passing the Ganges, in 200 miles he came to Oude[1]. Various topes and monasteries are mentioned at the capital, but no mention of Brahmans. After visiting two kingdoms or principalities in which he mistakes some other river for the Ganges, probably the Gogra, at 230 miles to S.E. from A ye mou kiei, where was a tope, he reaches the junction of Ganges and Jumna at Allahabad. The capital was at the junction, and a tope was in the neighbourhood. There is not the slightest mention of this *now holy place* of pilgrimage of the Hindus having even a solitary Brahmanical temple in Hiuan thsang's time!!

Hence passing a great forest, and travelling 170 miles to the S.W., he came to Kausambi. Here there were many topes or stupás, a statue of Buddha, the grotto of the venomous dragon [coluber nag], &c. &c. Hence to the N.E. was Sravasti, where was the great monastery of Jeto[2], so long the residence of Buddha himself. The birth-place of Sakya's predecessor, Kassapo, is noticed.

Hiuan thsang subsequently comes to Kusinagara, [in Pali, Kusinara] and then to Benares, which he found a great city on the Ganges. He notices the several topes, Buddha's deer-park, and the great monastery, and numerous other Buddhist remains, and very candidly speaks of the *heretical temples* and heretics; but does not make any mention of Brahmans.

Following the Ganges for 100 miles, he comes to Tchen tcheu, and seventy miles to the east a monastery, and then visits Vaisali, where were numerous topes, monasteries, &c.[3] To the N.E. of Vaisali were the remains of an ancient city of a Buddhist universal monarch [Chakravarti] called *Mahadeva*, so that these names were not necessarily Hindu.[4] He then visits Nepal, and returns to Magadha. The ruined city of Patiliputto[5] stood on the south bank of the Ganges, but the Patna of Hiuan thsang's time is not on the exact site of the modern Patna. He describes numerous topes, monasteries, and other Buddhist remains; and makes an excursion to Buddha Gaya, the birth-place of Kassapo, Sakya's predecessor. He is full of details; but there is no mention of a *Brahmanical temple*, or the celebrated Hindu *Tirtha, which exists at present;* and Fa hian was equally silent respecting it.

[1] From the distance he must mean the neighbourhood of Fyzabad and not Lucknow.

[2] Jeta, in Sanskrit.

[3] There is some confusion here; for Wesali [Sanskrit, Vaisali] is the Pali name of the modern Allahabad, which he had already visited.

[4] The *Sanskrit* terms Chakravarti and Mahadeva, *in Pali* are respectively Chakkawatti and Mahadewo.

[5] In Sanskrit, Patáliputrá.

He subsequently mentions a very curious fact. He visits a *town on the Ganges*, amidst mountains and forests, called Yi lan nou po fa to, close to which was the mount called Yi lan nou, *which vomited forth so much smoke as to obscure the sun and the moon.* We have evidently here an account of a volcano now extinct; and, as his next visit is to Bhagalipur, it must have been between Patna and the latter place; the hot springs and basaltic rocks at Monghyr would seem to point it out as the most probable locality, and the neighbourhood is worthy of examination.

He continues to descend the Ganges, mentioning the topes and monasteries. At length he says, to the east of the Ganges, at the limits of Eastern India, is the country of Kia ma leou pho [Assam?], with a circuit of 3300 miles; the people of the country not being converted, nor had they built monasteries. The king was a Brahman, his surname being Pho se ko lo fa ma, and his name Keou ma lo [young man].

Further east, amongst the mountains, there was not another kingdom; but Kia ma leou pho touched the barbarians of the S.W. In a couple of months, by the most difficult and dangerous roads, it was possible to reach the southern frontier of Chou[1].

It is found, from this statement, that Buddhism had not penetrated into Assam [or probably Ava] in the early part of the seventh century.

Hiuan Thsang now mentions the names of six kingdoms which he did not visit; and we at last come again upon recognisable ground at Tam-a-litti[2], (the modern Tamlouk,) at the month of the Ganges. He mentions its great commerce, and the tope noticed by Fa hian. Instead of embarking, as Fa hian did, he travels by land to the S.W., into Orissa, (Kalinga,) noticing in his way various topes and monasteries, and, amongst others, the monastery of Phou se pho ti li, on a mountain; possibly meaning the Buddhist excavations described by Lieut. Kittoe at Khandgeri[3]. Not far from this, on the sea-shore, was a town much frequented by those engaged in commerce. Before he reaches Kalinga, however, he passes through a small state, called Koung iu tho, of *ten* villages, *where a peculiar language was spoken, and Buddhism was not practised.* He then enters a desert tract, and passes through a thick forest, and reaches Kalinga. *Here there were few of the orthodox, and many heretics.* Nevertheless, no mention whatever is made, in his passage through

[1] Bhotan?

[2] In Sanskrit, Tamralipti.

[3] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. vi., page 1072, and vol. vii, page 683. Vide Inscriptions in Appendix.

Orissa, of the temple of Jagannatha, now so celebrated and venerated; it therefore could not have existed in the fifth century. Indeed, Mr. Stirling proves, from the annals of Orissa, [*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 315,] that the temple of Jagannatha was not completed until A.D. 1198, about 560 years after Hiuan thsang's time. The temple to Siva, at Bhobanaser was completed A.D. 657, equally after Hiuan thsang's visit, and that at Kanarak, A.D. 1241. The tope built by As-o-ko was close to the city. Hence 600 miles to the N.W., amongst the mountains, was the kingdom of Kiao sa lo, the king of which was a Kshatrya. The people were black and savage. The Stupa, or tope, built by As-o-ko, was to the South of the town. Mention is made of a Deva Bodhisattwa having formerly arrived from Ceylon; and an *excavated mountain is noticed.* 300 miles to the south was Andra. The language was peculiar; but the alphabet was that of Central India [Magadhi]. The habits of the people uncivilized. Several topes of As-o-ko and others mentioned. 330 miles to the south is Ta na ko thse kia. The people black and savage. Three monasteries noticed. 330 miles further to the S.W. is Tche li ve. The people were savage, ferocious, and heretics; and there were *temples of the gods,* [gods of the heretics?] There was a tope, or Stupa, of As-o-ko, and a monastery. Hence a desert forest extended for more than 500 miles to the south, to the modern Konjevaram, [Conjeveram,] the birth-place of a great Buddhist saint. The language and letters differed a little from those of Magadha. At this period, therefore, it is seen there was no great departure from the Magadhi language and alphabet, although the difference is now considerable. Here was one of the great topes built by As-o-ko, *and it has disappeared to give place to the celebrated Hindu pagoda to Mahadeva as the Linga, proving the posteriority of Hinduism in these parts;* although, until this absence of notice, the origin of the pagoda was involved in the obscurity of supposititious antiquity.

One thousand miles [3000 li] to the south took him to Molo kiu tho, or Tchi mo lo, on the borders of the sea; but the distance ought to have taken him far into the ocean. Hiuan thsang's distances are evidently, in many instances, *on dits* only. It is probable he got to Cape Comorin, as he says the kingdom to the south was bounded by the sea, and people here embarked for the south; and he afterwards proceeded *eastward* to Ceylon. Great riches came to Tchi mo lo by sea. The people were black and savage [rude?] There were stupas built by As-o-ko and his younger brother, Ta ty. Arriving at Ceylon, he says, "it is not comprised within the limits of India," He tells the legend of the King's daughter carried off by

a lion, as related in the *Mahawanso,* proving the antiquity of the legend, derived from a source common to himself and the *Mahawanso,* unless, indeed, he had seen the latter—a matter not at all improbable. He says the island was converted to Buddhism in the first century after the death of Sakya, by Mahindo[1], the younger brother of As-o-ko. He adds that two centuries after a schism took place, the doctrine being divided into two classes. He mentions also the temple of the tooth of Buddha. These statements accord pretty well with the *Mahawanso.* He then talks of islands to the east and the west, at a distance of thousands of miles, proving that he had met with travellers as gullible as himself. Proceeding north from Ceylon, for 600 or 700 miles, through a thick forest, he reaches Koung Kian na pou lo [Kankara i. e. Çanara]. He here gives an interesting piece of information, by stating that to the north of the town was the forest of[2] Zo lo trees, *the leaves of which served to write upon in all the kingdoms of India,* as they do to this day in Canara and Southern India. To the east of the town was one of As-o-ko's Stupas. Proceeding to the N.W. for 800 or 900 miles, and passing through thick forests, he comes to the Ma ha la tho, [Mahrattas,] whose country was 2000 miles in circuit, and whose capital was on the east bank of a great river [Wurdah?]. 300 miles to the west the river Nai mo tho [Kistna?] is passed, and he arrives at Pa lou ko tchen pho; the inhabitants of which live by maritime commerce. 600 to 700 miles to the N.W. is Ma la pho[3], or the central kingdom of Lo. The capital is to the S.E. of the river Mou ho.

In the five Indias the two principal kingdoms for the study [of the law of Buddhism] are Ma[4] la pho, or Lo, to the S.W., and Magadha to the N.E. These bearings would place Ma la pho, or Lo, in the modern province of Aurungabad and Bijapur[5] [Poona], in the Dekhan; and the prodigious cave-remains of Buddhism in these provinces seem to authorize the location. When Hiuan thsang was there, the history of the country stated that sixty years before King Chi lo a ti to[6] had reigned. About seven miles to the N.W. of the town *was a Brahman village. The paucity of Brahmans is manifested*

[1] Mahindo [in Sanskrit Mahendra] was the son of As-o-ko, and not his brother.

[2] Borassus flabelliformis. The leaves of the Coco nut are also used.

[3] Malwa may be meant, and Candeish and Deoghar may have constituted part of it.

[4] Deoghar?

[5] M. Jacquet says it is Malwa.

[6] M. Jacquet calls him Shilâditya. By copper plate grants dug up in Gujarat, Siladitya the fourth reigned at Balabhi, A.D. 559, which is not far from the time mentioned by Hiuan thsang; but he is speaking of Malwa and not Gujarat.

by the fact of Hiuan thsang thinking it of interest to record the existence of a Brahman village!

Proceeding to the *S.W.* is the place of embarkation, [possibly Callian or Bancoot; the former particularly being of ancient interest,] and at 800 miles to the N.W. is A tcha li, or A tho li. But Ma la pho [Deoghar?] appears a radiating spot for Hiuan thsang; and he returns to it to say that at 100 miles to the N.W. is Khi tcha [Chandor, or Nassak?] which was without a king, as it was a dependency of Ma la pho. About 300 miles to the north of this was Fa la pi[1] [Candeish?] or the northern Lo, being the northern limit of Southern India, the king of which was a Kshatrya, of the race of Chi lo a ti to, of Ma la pho [Deoghar]. At that time the King of Kanouj, named Tou lou pho pa tho[2], and the King Chi lo a ti to, stood in the relation of father-in-law and son-in-law, both being Buddhists; and yet the former was a Kshatrya and the latter a Vaisya. Thus affording further evidence that these distinctions were merely of a civil or secular nature, and existed amongst the Buddhists as amongst the Hindus; as is the case to this day amongst the Jains [according to Dr. Buchanan Hamilton and Colonel Miles], who have their four castes of Brahman, Kshatrya, Vaisya, and Sudra, without the slightest religious distinction[3]. In the Mackenzie MSS., a dispute is mentioned between a *Saiva* Brahman and a *Jain* Brahman.

Fa la pi [Candeish] abounded with foreign merchandise, and there were Stupas of As-o-ko. From Fa la pi, at about 230 miles to the N.W., was A nau tho pou lo [Anantpour[4]], in the limits of Western India; there was not any king, as it was a dependency of Ma la pho [Deoghar]. About 170 miles to the WEST from Fa la pi[5] [Candeish], was Sou la tho [Surat], the capital of which stood on the river Mou yi [Tapti?] Hiuan thsang remarks that this country was the natural road towards the Western Ocean, and Surat was, no doubt, the port by which the rich merchandise of which he speaks was introduced into Candeish and Malwa. He says the people of

[1] M. Jacquet says it was Vallabhi, or Balhara in Gujarat, and there were 100 monasteries and 6000 Buddhist ecclesiastics at it in Hiuan thsang's time.

[2] Druva Bhatt the second, of Wathen's Inscriptions. Jacquet says A.D. 550, instead of A.D. 328, but neither of these dates correspond with Hiuan thsang's visit

[3] Account of Canara.

[4] How Anantpour can be placed to the N.W. of Vallabhi I do not understand; therefore, either M. Remusat is wrong in calling Fa la pi, Vallabhi, or A nan tho pou lo is not Anantpour.

[5] From this it is plain Fa la pi could not have been Vallabhi, which stood on the *western shore* of Gujarat.

Surat loved maritime enterprises. Near the city was the Mount Yeou Chen to [Buddhist].

Returning to Candeish he says, 600 miles to the north, is Kiu tche lo, *where were many heretics and few orthodox Buddhists.* The capital was called Pi lo ma lo. This would carry him to Ajmer and Jeysalmer, the very locality of the heretic Rajputs; the nidus, probably, of the petty princes who about this time, or a little before or a little after, commenced to establish their sovereignties in various parts of India. Prinsep's *Useful Tables* give the following dates for the foundation of some of the Rajput houses:—Ranas of Mewar, A.D. 727. The Anhulwara dynasty of Gujarat, A.D. 696. Rahtores, of Kanouj, A.D. 300. But one of these, Basdeo [Vasadeva], must be a questionable Rajput, as his daughter married Bahram, King of Persia; moreover, they are said to be of INDO-SCYTHIC origin, by Col. Tod, and their genealogy was furnished to him by a *Jain priest*, and we know by Fa hian, that in A.D. 400-8, when he was at Kanouj, a *Buddhist sovereign* reigned; and on the early Kanouj coins there are Buddhist emblems. By the tables, the first Rajput prince of Kanouj was Nayana Pala, who *conquered* Ajipala of Kanouj, A.D. 469; but when Hiuan thsang visited Kanouj, A.D. 638, the King was a Vaisya, or of the merchant tribe. The Kachwaha Rajputs of Jaypur founded Narwar, A.D. 294. The Raos of *Jesalmer* claim descent from the Yadus; but the first date is 94 B.C., when Raja Gaja invaded Kashmir, and the next date is A.D. 15, when Salbahan conquered the Panjab. These claims of the Jesalmer Rajputs to antiquity are not contradicted by Fa hian and Hiuan thsang, who indeed locate them in the deserts and in the Panjab as in their native soil. With respect to the Rajas of Malwa, whose capitals were Ougein and Mandor, we know that the former city was eminently Buddhist, as late as the third century of our era; it was the residence of As-o-ko, 300 years B.C., and possessed also one of the great Chaityas, called Dakkhinagiri, the *Mahawanso* stating that it supplied 40,000 *Buddhist priests,* under Dhammarakkhito, B.C. 157, to be present at the foundation of the great Chaitya in Ceylon. The ancient coins of Ougein also have Buddhist emblems; and we see from the inscriptions of the second century of our era, at Bhilsa in Bhopal, that very numerous *communities of Buddhists still existed in Ougein* to make gifts to the Buddhist Chaitya at Bhilsa; no reliance, therefore, can be placed on the Puranic genealogy of the early princes of Malwa; who, moreover, if not Buddhists, were worshippers of the sun, and not Brahmanists. The Chohan Rajputs of Ajmer and Delhi claim high antiquity, B.C. 700; but Tod supposes them

to be of Parthian descent, and therefore not Hindus originally. But the above extracts are sufficient to show the modern origin of the chief Rajput dynasties at the period of the decline of Buddhism; but the subject will be enlarged upon in the sequel.

The next chapter says, "thence about 900 miles to the S.E. is Ou tche yan na [Udjiyani, Ougein], where was a Stupa, and the place for the *Hell* built by As-o-ko." It will be recollected that As-o-ko was regent at Ougein, under his father, and it was celebrated for its great Buddhist monastery.

About 330 miles N.E. of Ougein is Tchi tchi tho [through Cutchwara?], the King of which, of the *Brahman tribe*, was a *firm believer* in the three jewels, Buddha, the law, and the clergy. Thence, 300 miles to the north, is Ma yi che fa lo pou lo, where the people are all heretics, not believing in the doctrine of Buddha. This is the Rajput locality again. Thence returning to Kiu tche lo [Ajmer], and passing a desert, that of Jesalmer, to the north, and *crossing the Indus,* he reached the kingdom of Sintou [Sinde]. The capital was called Pi tchen pho pou lo. The king was of the Sudra tribe. Here is no mention of heretics; the king was, therefore, Sudra and Buddhist. As-o-ko had built *many* Stupas or topes in the kingdom. Hence 300 miles to the *east,* passing to the *eastern* bank of the Indus [recrossing it], was Meou lo san pou lo, where were many worshippers of the gods, and few Buddhists. Thence 230 miles to the N.E. was Po fa to. There were four Stupas or topes of As-o-ko, and *twenty temples of the heretics.* From Sinde to the S.W., at 500 or 530 miles, was A thian pho tchi lo [Cutch], the capital of which was called Ko tchi che fa lo [Cutch], the walls of which, on the *west,* were on the bank of the Indus, and near to the sea; this would correspond with the modern Karachi. There was not a king, as it was a dependency of Sinde. As-o-ko had built six Stupas there. As there is no mention of heretics, Cutch must have been Buddhist in the seventh century, and the inscriptions and coins prove it to have been so for centuries before. Thence, at less than 700 miles to the *west,* is Sang ko lo [the maritime provinces of Beluchistan], which had a circuit of several thousand miles in every sense. The capital was called Sou toa li che fa lo. The country was on the shores of the Great Ocean. There was not any king, as it was a dependency of Persia. *The alphabet was the same as that of the Indians,* but the language was a little different. In the capital town *was a temple of Maha Iswara.* Thence to the N.W. was Persia [Pho la sse], which is not comprised in India. It had a circuit of several times 10,000 li [one-third of

a mile]. The capital was called Sou la sa tang na. There were many temples where the disciples of Thi na pa worshipped, and *two or three monasteries*. It is plain, therefore, there was little of genuine Buddhism in Persia in the seventh century. There was a tradition about Buddha's begging-pot. Hiuan thsang now jumps back to Cutch, and says at 230 miles to the north is Pi to chi lo, which is without a king, as it is a dependency of Sinde. To the north of the capital, at five or six miles, in a great forest, was a Stupa, several hundred feet high, built by As-o-ko; and not far to the east the monastery built by the great Arhan Ta Kia ta yan na. From these bearings he must have passed through Nusserpur, Chaukor, and Bhukker. 100 miles further to the N.E. was A pan tchha, without a king, as it was a dependency of Sinde. There was a Stupa built by As-o-ko. 300 miles further to the N.E. was Fa la nou, a dependency of Kia pi che [some part of Affghanistan or Northern Beluchistan].

It is said on the west this country touches Khi Kiang na, in the mountains [Solimani?]. The language has little analogy to that of Central India. Thence to the N.W., passing great mountains, large streams, and many small towns, after 600 or 700 miles the limits of India are left behind. Hiuan thsang arrived at Thsao kiu tho, the language and alphabet of which were different from those of India. There were Stupas built by As-o-ko. At 170 miles further to the north he arrived at Foê li chi sa tang na, the capital of which was called Hou phi na. The king was of Turkish race, nevertheless he was attached to the three Jewels, Buddha, the law, and the clergy. He subsequently passed the Himalaya mountains, and speaks of the highest peak in India. He descended for three successive days, and, passing countries subdued by the Turks, comes to Houo; Buddhists being numerous, and those who *honoured spirits* few in number. It is hence seen that spirit-worship, and not that of fire, prevailed with those who did not believe in Buddha.

Hiuan thsang, on his further progress homewards, talks learnedly of the most elevated plains of the world [Tartary], which we know to be 16,000 feet above the sea, and of the water shed in different directions; and points out the spot where a King of Persia received his bride, a Chinese princess; but, as he has got beyond the limits of India, it is not necessary for me to accompany him further. Before parting with him, however, it appears necessary to say that, from the particular and detailed manner in which he specifies the localities of heretics, and even the existence of a single heretical temple, not failing, also, to notice if a king be orthodox or heterodox,

that it is justifiable to infer, where he omits such mention, that the country, king, and population, in all probability, were Buddhist. Admitting this inference to be well founded, it is seen, at least as far as the analysis of the chapters of his work shows it, that in the seventh century, with the single exception of Assam, and possibly of Orissa, there was not an instance of Brahmans [as heretics] having attained to *political power*, and the kings of the Kshatrya, Vaisya, and Sudra *tribes* were so few in number, that it may be doubted whether the Rajputs had as yet generally emerged from their locations on the banks of the Indus, and the Bicaner and Jesalmer deserts, to establish their various dynasties in Central India. The work of Hiuan thsang being only partially translated, the information supplied by him is derived from the analysis of the several chapters of the work which appears as an appendix to Fa hian; it is necessarily very meagre, and it remains to be seen what further evidence of the state of India, in the seventh century of our era, will be afforded *by the details* of the work when its translation is completed. The period is one of very high interest; for a great revolution was silently taking place. Buddhism, apparently crushed by the weight of its gigantic monastic system [which commenced centuries before Monachism was thought of in Europe] and rendered unpopular by the rigid self-denying and elevated character of its practical doctrines, was fast disappearing from India, and Brahmanism, as a system, was about to take its place, and rise to political and religious power; not, however, by persecution or violence, for Hiuan thsang's silence on the subject is sufficient proof that up to his time, whatever the private feelings of sectaries were, no blood had been shed in religious disputes; indeed, the weapons of the Buddhists were reason, argument, and charity, and so general had been the prevalence of their doctrines in India, Buddhism being the religion of the state, as well as of the people, for the preceding 1000 to 1300 years, that there had not been any heterodox government with the means to put it down by force, or with the means even of venturing upon successful partisan hostility. It is pretty confidently believed that a persecution of the Buddhists did take place, for mention is made of it in the history of Kashmir and in the Mackenzie MSS., but it must have been after Hiuan thsang's time, and not by the Brahmans, but very probably by the Saïva Rajputs, at the period of the extension of the worship of the Linga, and when they were fixing their dynasties in Central India.

I have now completed a very careful examination, not only of the facts recorded by Fa hian, but of his phraseology; for on the

bearing of the latter, depends very much of the weight of some of the conclusions at which I have arrived, I trust with an unprejudiced judgment, and solely influenced by a sincere desire to establish the truth, as far as the scanty means afford. The occasional notices supplied by Soung young and Hiuan thsang have invigorated Fa hian's narrative; but the European world is indebted to the luminous and erudite commentaries of Remusat, Klaproth, Landresse, and Burnouf, for the means of appreciating the nature, extent, and value of the information communicated by the three Chinese travellers.

The works of the three Chinese travellers, and the learned commentaries upon them, together with the numerous inscriptions and multitudinous coins which have recently come to light, afford more than presumptive proof,

1st. That the Buddhism taught by Sakya prevailed generally in India, as the predominant religion, from the Himalayas to Ceylon, and from Orissa to Gujarat, from the sixth century before Christ[1], certainly to the seventh century after Christ, and that its final overthrow in India did not take place until the twelfth or fourteenth centuries.

2nd. That there are grounds for the belief of the existence of Buddhas, and of a qualified Buddhism, anterior to the sixth century before Christ, back to an extremely remote period.

3rd. That the "doctors of reason," or followers of the mystic cross 卐 [Swastika], diffused in China and India before the advent of Sakya, and continuing even to Fa hian's time, were professors of a qualified Buddhism, which is positively stated to have been the universal religion of Thibet before Sakya's advent.

4th. That India was generally split into small monarchies or states, but occasionally consolidated under one head, as the talents and vigour of an individual prince enabled him to subjugate his contemporary princes.

5th. That evidence is wanting of the local or universal dominion of princes of the *Brahmanical faith* during the prevalence of Buddhism; but that in Fa hian's time there is his positive testimony that there was not a single Hindu *reigning* prince in India; and as late as the seventh century Hiuan thsang found few rulers of the Brahmanical faith.

6th. That certain facts and expressions in the Chinese and other authors seem to indicate that the Brahmans were a *secular,* and not a *religious,* community; in fact, as is stated by Ma touan lin and

[1] From the eleventh century B.C., according to the Chinese, Japanese, and the Buddhists of Central Asia.

Soung yun, "*a tribe of strangers*;" and that they had neither religious nor political influence nor power until after the invention of the Puranas, and during the periods of confusion consequent on the decline of Buddhism, the rise of the Rajput states, the spread of Saiva and Vaishnava worship, and the Mohammedan invasion.

7th. That various expressions of the Chinese authors admit of the inference that the divisions of caste in India were secular, and not religious, as the four castes, as they were called, existed equally amongst the Buddhists as amongst the Hindus; and exist to this day amongst the Buddhists of Ceylon and the Jains.

8th. That as mention is made only of the universal use of one language by the Chinese authors, and as the whole of the ancient Buddhist scriptures are still found in the Magadhi or Pali language, while there is not any mention whatever of *ancient* copies in Sanskrit, and as all the *most ancient* inscriptions relate to Buddhism, and are in the old Pali language, it is to be inferred that the *Fan* language, which Fa hian studied, and in which the sacred books were written which he carried with him into China, was an ancient form of Pali, and not Sanskrit; in fact, that proof is wanting of the existence of Sanskrit until six or seven centuries *after* the extant proofs of the existence of the Pali language.

9th. That no evidence whatever is afforded by the Chinese travellers of the worship of the Linga in India as late as the seventh century; although it would appear that the followers of Maha Iswara are enumerated amongst the heretics some centuries before that date.

10th. That Brahmanism, such as it *is taught by the Puranas*, and such *as it has been known to Europeans for the last two or three centuries*, had no operative existence, or rather practical influence, until the decline of Buddhism.

Before proceeding further, although the facts, circumstances, and analogies, placed in juxtaposition by myself, are so perspicuous and strongly marked, I beg to disclaim, in the most distinct manner, the slightest pretensions to give a character of definite or conclusive proof to the above inferences or deductions. The whole subject of ancient Indian history has hitherto been too much embarrassed by the absence of the necessary data and by the *preconceived* opinions entertained respecting it, to admit of much more than mere speculation in discussing its state, progress, and character: in availing myself, therefore, of the new lights which have so unexpectedly broken in upon us, I desire to be considered rather a narrator than a disputant; an inquirer, and not a teacher; and a labourer in the collection of

materials for competent architects to use in the erection of a dignified and permanent structure for TRUTH.

In accordance with these views, it remains for me to adduce information from such other sources (than the translations from the Chinese) as may be within my knowledge, to support, strengthen, or justify the speculations consequent upon the examination of the travels of Fa hian, and the able comments upon them. The ancient Western authors give us some aid; the ancient Indian inscriptions and coins give us much more; but the recent publication of the Buddhist Pali Historical Annals of Ceylon, by that able, zealous, and disinterested public servant, the Hon. Mr. Turnour, afford matter both corroborative and instructive, which no other source of information worthy of equal confidence can supply.

These Annals, or Royal Chronicles, are designated the *Mahawanso;* and the following is the account which Mahanamo, the compiler of the most ancient part, as far as the thirty-seventh chapter, in A.D. 302, in the reign of Mahaseno, gives of his work:—

"Mahawanso is the abbreviation of Mahantánan wanso, 'the genealogy of the great.' It signifies both pedigree and inheritance from generation to generation; being itself of high import, either on that account, or because it also bears the two above significations, hence 'Mahawanso.'

"What that Mahawanso contains [I proceed to explain]. Be it known that of these [*i. e.* of the aforesaid great] it illustrates the genealogy, as well of the Buddhos and of their eminently pious disciples, as of the great monarchs, commencing with Mahásammato. It is also of deep import, inasmuch as it narrates the visits of Buddho [to Ceylon]. Hence the work is [mahá] great. It contains likewise all that was known to or has been recorded by the pious *men of old* connected with the supreme and well-defined history of those unrivalled dynasties [wanso]. Let [my hearers] listen [to this *Mahawanso*].

"Be it understood, that even in the [old] *Atthakathá*, the words 'Dípatthutiya sádhusakkatan' are held as of deep import; they have there [in that work] exclusive reference to the visits of Buddho, and matters connected therewith. On this subject the *ancient historians*[1] have thus expressed themselves:—

[1] Mr. Turnour, in subsequent investigations, finds that the first thirty-six chapters of the *Mahawanso*, bringing down the chronology to A.D. 302, are, in fact, the *Dipawanso*, and were written by a different author to *Mahanamo;* the latter carried on the Mahawanso to the reign of his nephew Dathuseno, between A.D. 459 and 477, the Dipawanso being from previous histories.—J. A. S. B. vol. vii. p. 922.

"I will perspicuously set forth the visits of Buddho to Ceylon; the arrival of the *relic* and of the *Bo-tree;* the histories of the convocations; and of the sophisms of the Theros; the introduction of the religion [of Buddho] into the island; and the settlement and pedigree of the sovereign [Wijayo]. It will be evident from the substance of the quotations here made, that the numerical extent of the dynasties [in my work] is exclusively derived from that source—[it is no invention of mine].

"Thus the title *Mahawanso* is adopted in imitation of the history composed by the fraternity of the Mahâwiháro[1] [at Anurádhapura]. In this work the object aimed at is, setting aside the Singalese language, in which [the former history] is composed, that I should sign in the Mágadhi. Whatever the matters may be which were contained in the *Atthakathá,* without suppressing any part thereof, *rejecting the dialect only,* I compose my work in the *supreme Mágadhi language,* which is thoroughly purified from all imperfections. I will brilliantly illustrate, then, the *Mahawanso,* replete with information on every subject, and comprehending the amplest detail of all important events, like unto a splendid and dazzling garland, strung with every variety of flowers, rich in colour, taste, and scent.

"The former historians also used an analogous simile. They said, 'I will celebrate the dynasties [wanso] perpetuated from generation to generation; illustrious from the commencement, and lauded by many bards, like unto a garland strung with every variety of flowers: do ye all listen with intense interest[2].' "

The *Mahawanso* of Mahanámo, therefore, although compiled in A.D. 302, is derived from *previous histories then extant;* and in his first chapter of the work the author establishes the fact.

"Adoration to him who is the deified, the sanctified, the mniscient, supreme Buddho.

"Having bowed down to the supreme Buddho, immaculate in purity, illustrious in descent, without suppression or exaggeration I celebrate the *Mahawanso.*

"That which was *composed by the ancient* [*historians*] is in some respects too concise; in others diffuse; abounding, also, in the defects of unnecessary repetition. Attend ye to this [*Mahawanso*], which, avoiding these imperfections, addresses itself to the hearer [in a strain] readily comprehended, easily remembered, and inspiring sentiments both of pleasure and pain; giving rise to either pleasing or painful

[1] The great monastery.

[2] Turnour's Introduction to the *Mahawanso,* page xxxii.

emotion, according as each incident may be agreeable or afflicting[1]."

The chief sources of his information, however, seem to have been the Buddhist scriptures, the *Pitakattaya*[2], in Pali, written B.C. 89, and the *Atthakathá*, in *Singalese*, as Mahanámo himself asserts, it not being translated into Pali until between A.D. 410 and A.D. 432, by Buddhaghoso. Mr. Turnour says the contents of the *Pitakattaya* and *Atthakathá*, divested of their Buddhistical *inspired* character, may be classed under four heads:—

1st. The unconnected and desultory references to that undefined and undefinable period of antiquity which preceded the advent of the *last twenty-four Buddhas*.

2nd. The history of the last twenty-four Buddhas, who appeared during the last twelve Buddhistical regenerations of the world.

3rd. The history from the last creation of the world, containing the genealogy of the kings of India, and terminating in B.C. 543.

4th. The history from before Christ 543, to the age of Buddhaghoso, between A.D. 410 and A.D. 432.

The first two divisions are necessarily fabulous and useless, and are only so far of interest, as they record the belief in the continuous succession of Buddhas from the origin of time. With the exception of some few names of kings and priests, towards the end of the list in the third period, of whom there may have been records, it also must be something more than apocryphal; but it is also an object of interest, as it admits of a comparison with a similar list of kings in the Brahmanical system. The fourth division is of a very different character from its predecessors, as it offers a systematic and detailed chronology of kings and events, both in India and Ceylon; and the Buddhist characteristic habits of record in the Pali language, as is testified in their multitudinous inscriptions in their cave temples, on the remains of their buildings, and on their coins, or obelisks, give a verisimilitude and unsophisticated bearing to this chronology, and lead us to believe that it was *aided by*, if not *based upon*, records, some of which we see at this day engraved on stone. From Mr. Turnour's four divisions, it is seen that a certain parallelism prevails between the Buddhist and Brahmanical systems;—in the cycles of time recurring ad infinitum,—in the present cycle

[1] Chap. i., p. 1.

[2] Which is divided into three Pitakas,—Wineyo, Abhidammo, and Sutto. To these are to be added, the *Atthakathá*, a commentary, first written in Singalese, and translated into Pali by Buddhaghoso, A.D. 410 to 432.

being divided into distinct periods,—in pretended lists of kings from the origin of the world,—in Buddha and Rama being derived from Ixwaku, or Okkáko in Pali, a common ancestor,—and in the preliminary events occasioning Rama's expulsion from his father's court, and the history of the origin of the Buddhist Sakyas, Buddha's ancestral tribe, being identical. Which of the parties is the plagiarist is in discussion.

The author of the Dipawanso concluded his labours at the thirty-seventh chapter. Buddhaghoso [*a Brahman convert*] continued the record until between A.D. 410 and A.D. 432, Mahanámo until A.D. 477, and it was carried on by successive authorized chroniclers until A.D. 1798, to the date of our own possession of the Island of Ceylon.

The *Mahawanso,* in its details, manifests the same love of the marvellous, the same credulity and superstition, the same exaggeration in description, and the same adulation of kings and princes, which is met with in the annals and religious history of heathen and Christian nations called civilized, of Ancient and Modern Europe. With these drawbacks, common, however, to the annals and religious history of all nations, the *Chronology* of the *Mahawanso,* from the birth of Buddha before Christ 623, does not admit of a question with respect to its general accuracy; and neither Brahmanism nor the Sanskrit language can show any work[1] of an unquestionable date, approaching to within many centuries of it [B.C. 623], nor a work with the shadow of a claim to its honesty of intention, and its accuracy of chronological record; and Mr. Turnour seems justified in stating that, "After the most accurate examination of the portion of the *Mahawanso* compiled by Mahanámo, I *am fully prepared* to certify that I have not met with any other passage[2] in the work [unconnected with religion and its superstitions], than those already noticed, which could by the most sceptical be considered as prejudicial *to its historical authenticity.* In several instances, he adverts prospectively to events which took place posterior to the date at which his narrative had arrived; but in every one of these cases, it is found that the anticipated incidents are invariably *anterior* to his own time[3]." In addition to this testimony, Mr. Turnour elsewhere

[1] The Raja Tarangini, the Institutes of Manu, the Ramayana and Mahabharata, and the Puranas, will be subsequently noticed.

[2] Mr. Turnour alludes to the date of Wijayos landing in Ceylon, and to some trifling discrepancies consequent on the question, whether certain kings were sons or grandsons of others? but, he adds, "After King Dutthagamini, B.C. 164, *there does not appear to be the slightest ground* for questioning the correctness of the chronology of Ceylon history, *even in these minute respects.*"—Introd. p. li.

[3] Turnour's Introduction to the *Mahawanso*, p. li.

adds, "Suffice it to say, *that from the date of the introduction*[1] *of Buddhism into Ceylon*, B.C. 307, that history is authenticated by the concurrence of every evidence which can contribute to verify the annals of any country."—Introd. p. LI.

The *Mahawanso* making its appearance contemporaneously with a translation of a work from a part of the world so widely separated from Ceylon as China, and appertaining to a people so opposed to the Ceylonese in their physical circumstances and civil institutions, adds to the interest of both works; for the *Mahawanso* confirms the truth of the simple-minded Fa hian's relation in numerous instances; and he in his turn stamps the *Mahawanso* with additional authenticity in independently recording from the localities to which the *Mahawanso* refers, some of the legends, facts, and circumstances, which are found in its text!

I have thought it necessary to give these details respecting the *Mahawanso*, as I have repeatedly had to quote it; and the text and Introduction of Mr. Turnour will be further available.

I now purpose to take the inferences in the order in which they stand, and see how far they are supported by authors, independently of the Chinese travellers. With respect to the general prevalence of Buddhism in India, from the seventh century before Christ until the seventh century after Christ, the personal testimony of Fa hian, that when he was in India, there was not a single prince eastward of the Jumna who was not of the Buddhist faith, and that it had continued UNINTERRUPTED from the time of Sakya Muni [Buddha], would seem to render further testimony unnecessary, up to the beginning of the fifth century A. D.; and though Buddhism had declined, Hiuan thsang, in the middle of the seventh century, mentions only two princes who were not Buddhists. At the period of the visits of these travellers, it would not appear that there was an universal monarch of India, but that it was divided into numerous petty sovereignties. For the period anterior to Fa hian's time, it is seen that in the third century before Christ, when India was under one sole monarch, Piyadasi [or Asoko], he perpetuated his Buddhist

[1] The first chapter of the *Mahawanso* says, that Buddha himself introduced his doctrines into Ceylon in his three visits, B.C. 587, he treading in the steps of former *Buddhas*. He himself also left a lock of his hair as a relic, and after his death the thorax bone relic having been received at the funeral pile of Sakya by the Théro Sarabhu, was brought into Ceylon. The asserted introduction, therefore, of Buddhism into Ceylon by Mahindo, the son of Asoko, must have been a revival. It may be, that it was the introduction of an *innovation* in the doctrines of Buddhism, which I shall notice in the sequel.

edicts[1] on rocks and obelisks in the north and the south, and in the east and the west of India; at Dehli, at Allahabad, in Oude, in Orissa, and in Gujarat, and numerous other Buddhist inscriptions have also been found in all parts of India. The *Mahawanso* records not only the rise and diffusion of Buddhism all over India, from the seventh century before Christ, but it bears testimony to the early continued and almost incredible separation of a disproportionate body of the whole population from secular duties.

In B.C. 157, the prodigious monasteries [some of them containing from two to three thousand monks] and their dependencies of Rajagaha, *Benares*, Sravasti, Allahabad, Kosambie, Ougein, Patna, Oude, Kashmir, and the great monasteries in many other parts of India, and in foreign countries, poured forth their priests to take part in laying the foundations of the great temple at Anuradhapura in Ceylon[2]. Admitting great exaggerations in the number mentioned,—and they might be reduced by many thousands,—there would still remain a sufficiency to attest the universal prevalence of Buddhism, from the simple fact of society being able to bear the separation from its productive body of such prodigious numbers of ecclesiastics, who, from the moment they entered the priesthood, ceased to be productive, and became, in fact, absolute drones, and were entirely supported by the remaining portion of society. This relation between supporters and supported, producers and non-producers, testifies to the general prevalence of the Buddhist doctrines; and even had we not the record of the *Mahawanso*, the magnificent, multitudinous, and widely-diffused Buddhist cave temples and monasteries, significantly tell us, that the wealth, and power, and energies, of governments, as well as of individuals, must have been devoted for ages to effect their completion.

Mr. J. Prinsep, in translating some old Pali Buddhist inscriptions from the caves in the Dekhan, transmitted by me to him, says, [supposing the inscriptions to relate to the caves], "In this case, we may at once pronounce from the alphabetic evidence, that the caves were thus constructed or embellished a century or two prior to the Christian era, when Buddhism flourished in the height of its glory from Kashmir to Ceylon[3]." The coins, too, most of which are older than the Christian era, come in with their aid; for we find the great majority of those from Affghanistan, Scind, Cutch, Gujarat, the Panjab, Ougein, Behat, Kanouj, and other places, with Buddhist emblems upon them, indicating that they had issued from the Bud-

[1] Vide Appendix of Inscriptions.

[2] *Mahawanso*, p. 171.

[3] J. A. S. B. vol. vi., p. 1047.

dhist mints of Buddhist princes. We have also the foundation of the Rajput states, at the period of the decline of Buddhism; the non-appearance of Brahmanical inscriptions or coins, until the same period of the decline of Buddhism; the comparatively modern origin of all the present celebrated Hindu temples and tirthas, or places of pilgrimage; the recent date at which Brahmanical literature flourished between the fifth and twelfth centuries of our era; the *Puranas* being invented or compiled in that interval; the history of Kashmir being written A. D. 1148[1]; the *Ratnavali* drama between A.D. 1113 and 1125[2]; and the other dramas translated by Professor Wilson, from the second century to the fourteenth A.D.[3]; the *Lilawati*, in the twelfth century; the *Bijaganita*, about A.D. 1183; and finally, the nine gems [literary men] of the golden age of Hindu literature, are made contemporaries of a Raja Bhoja, the first of the name flourishing A.D. 483, the second A.D. 665, and the third A.D. 1035!

Contrasting the above *two series* of Buddhist and Brahmanical facts with each other, the positive proofs of the antiquity and general prevalence of the Buddhist doctrines, and the absence of similar ancient proofs in favour of the Brahmanical system, the assertion of Fa hian appears to be borne out pretty satisfactorily, that Buddhism had generally prevailed for the preceding ten or eleven centuries *uninterruptedly;* and even though declining in some places in India, before Fa hian's time, and continuing to do so until Hiuan thsang's visit, the *uninterrupted general prevalence of the Buddhist* doctrines, seems to have continued to the middle of the seventh century of our era. It is probable that Buddhism *was interrupted* at this period by the Saivas; but it existed in Berar some centuries later; for an inscription without date, the character of which is about the tenth century, found in the ruins of a magnificent Buddhist chaitya or tope at Oomrawati, refers to the endowment of some Buddhist institution, and hopes this very excellent religion of the people will endure for ever. At Buddhagaya, in Behar, an inscription about A.D. 1197, judging from the mention of Lakshana Sena, the son of Belal Sen, who built the city of Gaur, has an invocation to Buddha by the treasurer of Dasaratha Kumara; and Mr. Prinsep infers, from Dasaratha's elder brother being called *Asoko* Chandra Deva, that the princes, as well as the treasurer, were Buddhists even at this date,

[1] Professor Wilson.

[2] Preface to the Ratnavali by Professor Wilson.

[3] Professor Wilson, in his Preface to his Plays, says, "None of the dramatic compositions at present known, can boast perhaps of a very high antiquity, and several of them are comparatively modern."—Page xiii.

and Buddhism therefore existed. But there is also an inscription in Burmese, dated A.D. 1305, recording the restoration, after it had four times previously been dilapidated, of the temple of Buddha-gaya, by the Burmese king. Buddhism, therefore, was not extinct in the fourteenth century. The RAJA OF THE COUNTRY assisted in the restoration; he, therefore, may be supposed to have been a Buddhist.

2nd. The belief in a succession of Buddhas from the origin of things through the cycles of time, is part and parcel of the religious system of all Buddhist nations. It matters not, that pretended details, beyond a limited chronological period, must necessarily be fabulous; if it be shown, for the validity of the general question, that in the very dawn of history, there is a *recorded specific belief* in a particular fact, or series of facts. This belief will certainly not establish the supposed fact or facts which may be physically impossible; but when this is not the case, the proof of a very ancient admission of the existence of these facts, gives to them a certain air of credibility.

We have lithographed and almost imperishable proofs of probably twenty-three centuries yet standing, of the positive existence of Buddhism, in multiplied inscriptions in old Pali, and in wonderful sculptures; and in case Brahmanism could produce similar contemporary proofs in SANSKRIT, or in sculptures, its claims to antiquity *would then* stand upon an equal footing with those of Buddhism. Sakya [Buddha], in his sermons, repeatedly refers to former Buddhas; and this was nearly six centuries before Christ, and before the time of any of the Greek historical writers: and some of these facts recorded of Sakya are by his devoted disciple Ananda, an eye-witness and a listener, who at the first Convocation after the death of Sakya, addresses it by saying, "*the following was heard by myself*," when he propounded the Suttani of the Suttapitako.—Hon. Mr. Turnour, J. A. S. B. vol. vi. p. 526, and vol. vii. pp. 686, 789, and 919.

It is related of Sakya by the Chinese authors that, in his boyhood, and before he had enrolled himself amongst the Buddhist clergy, he met a Samanean [a Buddhist priest], and asking who and what he was, not only was the explanation given, but the doctrine [Dhammo] was expounded to him. Now, without a previous Buddha, there could not have been any doctrine already *propounded*, or Samaneans to *expound* it[1]. I have already shown from Fa hian's text that, seventeen miles west of Sravasti, he saw a chaitya which contained the relics [the entire bones] of Kassapo Buddha, the

[1] Fa hian, note, p. 207, from the San tsang fa sou, liv. xiii., p. 21.

immediate predecessor of Sakya, and those relics were objects of worship. He speaks also from personal knowledge of Buddhist schismatics, who worshipped the three Buddhas *preceding* Sakya, and repudiated and would not worship Sakya himself, the *supposed founder* of Buddhism. Both Fa hian and Hiuan thsang also repeatedly mention having seen the thrones of the *four Buddhas* at Gaya, Rajagaha, Tamalitti [the modern Tamlook], and other places. These facts and assertions are quite in accordance with the Buddhist scriptures of Ceylon, the "PITAKATTYA," [or three Pitakas,] which Mr. Turnour first thought were written in Pali in the year 89 before Christ; but subsequently he states, in an examination of the *Dipawanso*, an older work than the *Mahawanso*, that many facts go far to prove that the *Pitakattaya* and the *Atthakathá* were *actually reduced to writing* from the commencement of the Buddhistical era.—J. A. S. B. vol. vii. p. 922.

The *Mahawanso* gives the names of the twenty-four Buddhas of the cycles, or last twelve Kappós, embracing those Buddhas mentioned by the Chinese travellers. In Sakya's first visit to Ceylon, B.C. 587, the King of Kalyani [about six miles from Columbo] and his people, "having heard the sermon on his doctrines preached, obtained the state of salvation and piety." There he thus supplicated THE SUCCESSOR OF PRECEDING BUDDHAS[1]: "Oh! divine teacher, such an act of mercy performed *unto us* is indeed great. Hadst thou not vouchsafed to come, *we* should *all* have been consumed to ashes."

Mahindo, also, King Asoko's son, who had gone on a religious mission to Ceylon, B. C. 306, thus addresses King *Dewanam piyatisso*, when recommending a site for a monastery: "Thus, oh king! this is a spot consecrated by the *four preceding* Buddhas[2]."

From Arrian's *History of India* I have extracted a passage, which states that, immediately after the time of Bacchus, one called Buddha was king, and the sovereignty was handed down from father to son uninterruptedly for ages. This certainty does not prove much, but it shows that, at the time of Alexander's expedition, it was made plain to Ptolemy and Aristobulus, his historians, that the name "Buddha" mounted to the fabulous ages; and we trace

[1] *Mahawanso*, p. 6. From this passage it also appears that the conversion of Ceylon did not take place by King Asoko's son Mahindo, but by Sakya himself. The mission of Mahindo may have had a specific object.

[2] *Mahawanso*, p. 90: and, at page 88, the former names of towns and places in Ceylon, at the time of the visit of the Buddhas, is stated by Mahindo; and Mr. Hodgson of Nepal, in addressing the late Mr. James Prinsep, has the following passage, which will be more enlarged upon: "I can trace something very like Buddhism into far ages and realms."—*J. A. S. B.*, vol. vi., p. 685.

it thence, acknowledged by many nations, down to the present days, which is more than we can do for any Brahmanical divinity or hero. Had these authors, or Megasthenes, or the Chinese, recorded the names of Rama, or the Pandus, or Krishna, we should have had a kind of chronological standard of reference for them.

The existence of the extensive Buddhist excavations in the rocks at Rajagaha [one chamber being capable of accommodating 500 persons] during the lifetime of Sakya, admits of the inference that, from their extent, they could hardly have been executed during the time he promulgated his doctrines, and must, therefore, have been the work of Buddhists, his predecessors. It will be recollected, also, that the excavations in the Dekhan are referred by Fa hian to a period anterior to Sakya's ministry.

On the whole, there appears strong grounds for supposing that there were Buddhist teachers previously to the advent of Sakya; successive patriarchs, in fact, similar or superior to those who followed Sakya: some of whom, such as Kakusandho, Konagamano, and Kassapo, by their superior piety, knowledge, and success in the promulgation of their doctrines, obtained the superior distinction of being transmitted to after times as objects of reverence with all, and with some Buddhists as objects of worship. As the doctrines and practice of Buddhism fell into corruptions, neglect, or desuetude, the successive appearance of revivers, renovators, reformers, or sustainers, was requisite: such an one was Sakya.

Like the Christian doctrines, those of Buddhism were, in the first instance, promulgated orally, and not reduced to writing until after the death of the propounder. Sakya, from the age of thirty, was acknowledged as a divine teacher, and his ministry continued for fifty years; yet his doctrines were not written until the first convocation at Rajagaha [resembling our Councils of Nice and Trent for the settlement of the faith], immediately after his death, when the Buddhist scriptures were incorporated and recorded. In the Introduction to the *Mahawanso,* Mr. Turnour thought that the Buddhist scriptures were not reduced to writing until B.C. 104 to 76; and that, previously to that period, as they were traditionally propounded, it required the successive appearance of men of eminence to prevent the traditions running into confirmed corruptions; but, as I have stated, in his account of the *Dipawanso,* the precursor of the *Mahawanso* by at least 150 years, he says that certain facts [which are mentioned] go far to prove that the *Pittakattaya* and *Atthakathá* were actually reduced to writing from the commencement of the Buddhistical era.

That Buddhism prevailed until the fifth and seventh centuries we have the personal testimony of Fa hian and Hiuan thsang, independently of inscriptions which bring it down to a later period. But we have also the Chinese writer, Ma twan lin, who, after mentioning former embassies from India down to A.D. 428, says, the King of Kapila, in A.D. 466, the kingdom of Soom, in A.D. 441, the kingdom of Ghandara, in A.D. 455, and the kingdom of Pho le, in A.D. 473, sent embassies to China. *All those kingdoms practised the doctrines of Fo* [Buddha]. From A.D. 605 until 616 a Kshatrya ruled in India: in his time there were no troubles or revolts. In A.D. 618 to 627 there were great troubles in the kingdom: the King She lo ye to [Siladitya] made war and fought battles, such as had never been seen before. All the provinces which faced the north submitted to him. Hiuan thsang arrived at this time, and She lo ye to received him at Magadha [Berar]; and, in A.D. 642, he sent an embassy to China, and the Emperor sent one in return, in A.D. 648, under a high military officer, Wang heuen tse: but, before his arrival, She lo ye to was dead; and his minister, Na foo te o lo na shun, who had usurped the government, refused to receive the embassy, and forced Heuen tse to retire to Thibet; and that state and Nepaul [Nee po lo] being in dependence upon China [as they are to this day] furnished troops, with which he attacked O lo na shun and took him prisoner. The wives and children of the late king retired to the Godaviri river. Heuen tse captured them, and he then returned to China with his prisoner, O lo na shun. Heuen tse had been assisted by a king of Eastern India, Kumara, and by the kingdom of Karna rupa [mentioned in the Allahabad inscription], with 30,000 horses and bullocks. —*Nouv. Mélanges Asiat.*, tom. i. p. 196. The repeated intercourse of the Chinese with India through these embassies, gave them the means of judging of the religious and political state of that country, independently of Fa hian and Hiuan thsang; and this independent knowledge strengthens and confirms the accounts of the travellers.

I would not desire it to be understood that I mean to express any decided judgment from a knowledge of facts, but simply that I give a record to my impressions from the perusal of such parts of the Pali Buddhistical annals and scriptures of Ceylon, and the French translations (so honourable to the nation) from various Chinese authors as have appeared before the public. There is a vast and fertile field of inquiry, and further researches in the Chinese and Pali languages may possibly produce a conviction that it is from those languages we are to expect authenticated accounts of the incipient civilization of mankind in the Eastern World, rather than from the Sanskrit tongue

3rd. With respect to the third point, the facts and arguments already recorded would appear to suffice to establish a belief in the pre-existence of *some kind* of Buddhism in India before Sakya's time; but the question of the Lao tseu, or Tao sze, explained to mean "Doctors of the Supreme Reason," is of a *specific* character; and we find that the doctrines propounded by the teachers had extensive influence in China from the earliest times, and, of course, before Buddhism became known in China; and from the life of Sakya it is demonstrated that these Doctors of Reason were in India before it is supposed the Chinese first made their way to Hindustan. I have already quoted the opinion of M. Landresse that "we could not well deny the analogy which exists between the opinions of the Lao tseu and those of the Buddhists; an analogy which extends to the very base of their doctrines, as well as to the details of the popular belief, and which could scarcely have sprung up in two countries independently of communication." These doctrines constituted the faith of the population of Thibet so late as until the seventh or eighth century, when Sakya's Buddhism was adopted in that country; and we see, A.D. 400, that one of Fa hian's companions quitted him to go with one of those Doctors of Reason to Cophenes, who had come with them from China. Hence, therefore, there appears evidence of a peculiar creed operating in China, Thibet, and India, in the very dawn of civilization, and continuing until the seventh or eighth century; certainly until the commencement of the fifth century, since one of the Doctors was a fellow-traveller of Fa hian, and others were contemporary with Sakya. Whether the creed of the Lao tseu was religious or philosophical, metaphysical or practical, I will not undertake to discuss; but if their *humility* permitted them to travel from kingdom to kingdom with *suites* [for it was the *suite* of a Doctor of Reason that Fa hian's companion joined], it is certain, from the life of Sakya, that they were also ascetics, like some of the Buddhist priests and the Hindu Rishis. On the birth of Buddha taking place, Ai, a Doctor of Reason, identified by M. Remusat as Tapasvi Muni, residing in the woods near Rajagaha, by his preternatural knowledge was aware of the advent, and flew through the air to Kapillawattha, the residence of the king, Sakya's father, to congratulate the parent of the infant. The infant was brought to him: he examined it, and wept and laughed alternately, and explained that he foresaw in the future that he could not live to witness its glory, as the infant would become an incarnation, and therefore he wept; but that he rejoiced at having seen him, as it would absolve him from his sins. He had then his nativity cast by

four Pandits, three of whom, as the child had impressions of wheels on his hands, predicted that he would become a Chakravarti king, or roller of the wheel over the earth [universal monarch, and equally a universal teacher]; and the fourth Pandit said the child would become an incarnation. This strange legend, M. Remusat says, is the substance of an inscription in the *Magah* language, which was found at Chittagong, and published in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii., page 383[1]. It is also told in the Ceylon scriptures, the *Attha-katthá*[2]; and the Thibetians have their legend, according to P. Georgi, about this same Tao sze, or Doctor of Reason, Ai; and the story in the inscription is told, but with much greater amplification and prolixity, and it ends with the Doctor of Reason adoring the future Buddha[3]. Had the worthy Doctor of Reason possessed a drop of Puranic blood in his veins, he would have fled to the extremities of the earth to have avoided this fatal stranger; but as he chose to visit and reverence him, it may be supposed that the creed of the Doctors of Reason approximated rather to Buddhism than Brahmanism. Additional support is given to this impression by the traditions related by Fa hian of certain Lao tseu, or Tao sse, *from various countries*, who were visiting Buddhist shrines, being appalled by seeing a certain shrine, in the woods of Lan mo[4], in the decadence of Buddhism, surrounded by elephants; and in their terror they sought their safety in the neighbouring trees[5]. Watching events, however, they observed such evidence of systematic arrangements in the movements of the elephants—some carrying flowers to the shrine, some water, and some sweeping it—that their terror was turned into wonder and admiration that irrational animals should manifest their reverence for Buddha by gratuitously performing the duties of a shrine of his, which had been deserted by his priesthood in consequence of the decrease of population and the encroachments of the jungle. The Lao tseu descended from the trees, made their offerings, and, impressed by the facts they had witnessed, became for the future orthodox Buddhists. By travelling to visit Buddhist shrines they must have been quasi Buddhists already. Fa hian says the event was of no remote occurrence, and the tradition was handed down to his time. Hiuan thsang mentions the same tradition.

That the Lao tseu were not viewed by Buddhists with a hostile feeling is manifested by the fact of no mention being made of them in the lists of heresies; and as a man may be heterodox without

[1] Fa hian, page 208. [2] *J. A. S. B.*, vol. vii., p. 802.
[3] Fa hian, note, p. 210.
[4] Somewhere N.E. of Gorakhpur, at the foot of the Nepal Mountains. [5] P. 227.

being absolutely heretical, there is even no notice of them under the milder designation. A further indication of an anti-Brahmanical character is met with in the Lao tseu being called followers of the mystic cross, which is met with, initial and terminal, in so many of the inscriptions of the Buddhist caves of India, of which I have given examples, and which is also one of the most common of the associated emblems on so many of the Buddhist coins from all parts of India. We may add to these the extract from the life of Sakya, in the Chin i tian, already quoted by me, that two Tao sze, or Lao tseu, greeted Sakya before he had commenced his ministry; and he found them considerably advanced in the steps of knowledge towards the acquisition of the dignity of Arhan [a high order in the Buddhist priesthood], but that they had yet to learn the Supreme Reason. But Fa hian's assertion that the Doctors of Reason [Tao sze] came annually from all kingdoms and all countries to adore Kassapo, who was supposed to have entombed himself in the heart of the mountain of the Cock, would seem to leave little doubt about the nature of their religion.

These puerile tales, traditions, and trifling facts, have no further effect than to show that, 1400 years ago, there were professors of a creed neither Buddhist nor Brahmanical, which creed was referred to remote antiquity; which was known to Indian as well as Chinese nations; and that, practically, it approximated rather to Buddhism than to Brahmanism.

It would simply suffice, on the subject of the 4th point, to refer to Fa hian's narrative to prove, from the numerous petty kingdoms, above thirty in number, named and traversed by him in the beginning of the fifth century, that, in his day at least, India was without a paramount political head; and, 200 years afterwards, Hiuan thsang enumerates no less than 142 kingdoms, or principalities, which he either visited or could give some account of. Sakya's [Buddha's] father, in the seventh century before Christ, was a petty king, tributary to the rulers of Magadha, residing at Patna, or rather in those days at Rajagaha. This prince was Bimbisaro, B.C. 603[1], whom Sakya made an orthodox Buddhist; and it was in the eighth year of his son's reign, Ajatassitu, B.C. 543, that Sakya died, who also must have been a Buddhist, from the aid he gave to the first convocation[2]. It does not appear that either of these princes ruled over India; nor even at the period of Alexander's invasion, when it

[1] *Mahawanso*, p. 10, and Turnour's Introduction, p. xxix.
[2] J. A. S. B. vol. vi. p. 516.

is supposed[1] Chandagutto [in Pali] was on the throne at Patna [Pataliputto], was he paramount, for Porus was an independent ruler, and Alexander restored his kingdom to him, and added some of his conquests to it; and it was a question whether Chandagutto [Sandracottus?] or Porus was most powerful.—Arrian's *Hist. Indicæ*, cap. v.; also *Anabasis*, lib. vi., cap. ii. But the family of Porus could not have reigned long; for Eucratides the Great, who ascended the Bactrian throne B.C. 181, was assisted by Mithridates I. against Demetrius, *king of India* [so called], and, on the latter being dethroned, Mithridates had for his share the provinces between the Hydaspes and Indus, and Eucratides all the rest east and south; these tracts, in fact, comprising the kingdom of Porus.

But as the *Mahawanso* places the commencement of Chandagutto's reign at 381 B.C., and its termination 347 B.C., if these dates be correct[2]; and there appears little right to question them, for they are derived from the facts and circumstances of the religious and political connexion of the Ceylon kings, with the individual kings of the Magadha or Patna dynasty named; then, instead of Chandagutto being on the throne on Alexander's arrival, it must have been the grandson of Chandagutto, the celebrated Asoko or Piyadasi, whose edicts in Pali, recorded on the columns of Delhi, of Allahabad and Matrah, on the rocks of Cuttack, on the shores of the *east of India*, and on the rocks of Girnar on the shores of the *west of India*, incontrovertibly attest his supremacy. How long this was maintained in the family is uncertain, further than that Dasaratha, the second king after Asoko, and who must have been contemporary with Agathocles, is mentioned in a Buddhist inscription in the Nagarjuna Cave at Buddhagaya in Behar; but supremacy had evidently passed out of their hands, when Fa hian visited India; nor had any other ambitious or talented individual been able to gather up the scattered and prostrate power. And equally when Hiuan thsang journeyed in India, A.D. 627 to 650, the country was divided into petty states; but during his residence in India, there sprung up, in the decline of

[1] Professor Heeren doubts the identity of Chandagutto and Sandracottus of the Greeks. Col. Tod, from a *Jain* inscription, makes a Chandragupta reign in Ougein in 427. If this be the era of Vikramditya, it is A.D. 371, and if the *Jain* era of Mahavira, B.C. 106; but in neither case can this Chandragupta be Sandracottus. In the Chohans of Delhi, also, there is a Chandragupta, grandson of Manika Rai, whose date is fixed about A.D. 695.

[2] The Burmese inscription at Buddhagaya, dated A.D. 1305, states that the temple or chaitya was built by Asoko 218 years after the death of Sakya: Asoko therefore, lived B.C. 325, and this corresponds with the Ceylon annals, and strengthens their credibility.

Buddhism, and during the rise of the Saivas, the movements of Brahmanism and the planting of the Rajput dynasties,—a Hindu power which was to overshadow India for some period of time, whose records on the Allahabad and Bhitari columns, and whose coins from Kanouj, give us some more substantial and honest proofs of their existence, of their "*having a local habitation and a name,*" than the *Puranas* would have done,—I mean the Sudra family of the Guptas; *but* which family, nevertheless, have no local habitation or name, even in the pretended *prophetical* chapters of the *Puranas,* the story of Chandragupta only, in the Vishnu and Bhágavat Puranas out of eighteen Puranas, having reference to the Magadha family of Patna, and not to that of Kanouj.

Dr. Mill says, he has nowhere in Hindu chronology met with the slightest mention of the most renowned of the race, Samudra Gupta, in whose honour chiefly the inscription No. 2, on the Allahabad column, was recorded. Pottinger, in his History of Sinde, mentions the dynasty of the Sasee [Saha or Sahu? [1]] Rajas, which had governed the kingdoms of Sinde for upwards of 2000 years [from before the seventh century, B.C.], whose princes at one period received tribute from *eleven dependent kingdoms,* and who had set the threats of the greatest monarchs of the world at defiance; but had there been a *paramount* sovereign in the valley of the Indus when Alexander descended the river, he would have been noticed in Arrian. There is also a paramount monarch [Adhiraja] mentioned in copper plates from Seone on the Nerbuddah, of the name of Deva Gupta, but there is no record made of his capital, and this new Gupta only comes to light through a prince [Prithivi Sena] who married his daughter, mentioning him in the inscription. The Deva Nagari of the inscription, deprived of a curious open parallelogram at the head of each letter, is that of the Allahabad column, No. 2: Deva Gupta, therefore, reigned after the Buddhists had lost their political power, and does not come into my category; nor does the *soi-disant paramount* sovereign Yaso Pala of Dehli, A.D. 1035, mentioned in an inscription on a stone in the Calcutta Museum.

The following is an extract from a paper in the Appendix, translated from the French, one of whose rare scholars had translated it from the Chinese. It is called, "*Ma twan lin's Citation of Chinese Authorities regarding India.*"

[1] Some of the successors of Sivajee, the Mahratta prince, were called *Sahu Maha raj;* the father of Sivajee was called "*Shah,*" and it is evidently not by accident the English have been accustomed to call the sovereign of the Mahratta nation, the "*Sahu Raja.*"

"Under the Tang dynasty, in the years Woo teh [A. D. 618 to 627], there were great troubles in India; the king [Siladitya?] fought great battles."

"The Chinese Buddhist priest, Hiuan thsang, who writes his travels, arrived in India at this period, and had audience of Siladitya."

From copper plates dug up in Gujarat, it appears there were three princes of the name of Siladitya, of the Balabhi dynasty at Patan; the first about A.D. 319 to 350; the second is placed A.D. 523; and the third A.D. 559; the last is *said* [but not in the inscription] to have been killed by the PARTHIANS, and his capital Balabhi to have been destroyed by them. Now, as Hiuan thsang visited Balabhi in the beginning of the seventh century, and saw Siladitya, who was a Buddhist, the Parthian invasion must have taken place after the date specified, or the era in the inscriptions has been mistaken. None of the princes of the Balabhis of Patan reigned over all India.

There is no such name as Siladitya in the list of the Magadha kings, nor in the rising Gupta family of Kanouj; but in the chronology of Kashmir there is a Lalitaditya, about A. D. 716, who conquered Yasovarma of Kanouj, [the Yasovigraha of inscriptions?] and overran India: but the Guptas, by their inscriptions and coins, evidently recovered their ascendancy as far as related to Central India. In the first inscription in honour of Samudra Gupta, the king of the North, [Kashmir?] who had oppressed his family, was Dhananjaya, but there is not any such name on coins, nor amongst the Kashmir Rajas; though it is worthy of remark, that there are a multitude of Guptas amongst the kings of Kashmir, one of whom, Xemagupta, A.D. 971, was pleased to distinguish himself by destroying many monasteries of the Buddhists.

The Allahabad inscriptions, the persecutions of Xemagupta, Ma twan lin's notices, the Balibhi inscriptions, and the dates of the rise of the Rajput dynasties, are highly important, showing, as they do, the anarchy which must have prevailed in India from the sixth to the tenth centuries, and thus accounting for the disappearance of the political power of the Buddhists; Fa hian found every potentate in India a Buddhist, and Hiuan thsang found much the same state of things two centuries afterwards: the fall of Buddhist power, therefore, must have been after their days.

Megasthenes speaks of there being 120 nations in India; no doubt with numerous petty kings: and though Arrian, in his History of India, mentions Spartembas, BUDDHA, Cradevas[1], and their suc-

[1] Lib. viii.

cessors from father to son, reigning for ages, in early times, as kings *of India,* it has probably reference to the country north of the Indus. As traits, also, of the political state of India, we must not omit mention of the *Republic* of Vassali or Allahabad, in Sakya's time; of the *elective* kings of Gujarat and Cutch, some centuries afterwards; and of Susunágo, king of Magadha, who was *elected by the people,* 471 B.C.

The nations or tribes of the Cathæi, Oxydracæ, Suraseni, Malli, Adraistæ, and Sindomanæ, mentioned by Arrian, appear to have been distinct from each other; and the Malli and Oxydracæ were a free people, and therefore independent of control from Magadha; and finally, we know, when the Mohammedans invaded India, that they found the country in the hands of numerous petty Rajput or Sudra princes, most of whose dynasties, even from the showing of their own annals, although apocryphal authorities unless confirmed by inscriptions, were of comparatively recent origin. The Chohans of Ajmir and Dehli, of whom was Ajipala the founder of Ajmir, A.D. 145?: the Haravati Chohans, A.D. 1024: the Guptas of Kanouj, after the seventh century. The Rajas of Malwa are carried up apocryphally to B.C. 840, to Dhanji, who *restored* a *fire* temple, which was disapproved of by the *Buddhists.* The three Rajas Bhoja belong to this line, and Colonel Tod fixes them respectively, A.D. 567, 665, and 1035. But Professor Wilson rectifies one of the Princes Karaksen from A.D. 135 to A.D. 676, and this is a type of other rectifications, and of many more that are *required.* The Balabhi dynasty of Gujarat, A.D. 144, does not legitimately come in here, as they were originally sun-worshippers, and afterwards Buddhists and Jains, according to the annals of the latter; but Buddhist, according to Fa hian and Hiuan thsang. The eleven sovereigns of the Sah dynasty of Saurashtra [Gujarat], brought to light by their silver coins, are nowhere to be met with in Hindu works; no doubt, because they were Buddhists,—the chief emblem on most of their coins being the Buddhist chaitya, and on some of them there is a seated Buddha. —J. A. S. B., vol. iv., plate 49, p. 684, and vol. vi. p. 338.

The rise of the Anhalwara or Patan dynasty of Gujarat, [a fragment of the Balabhis, but it does not appear how from being Buddhists they became Rajputs,] is placed A.D. 696. Mr. James Prinsep, indeed, says the *traditions* of the Rajput states, lean to an Indo-Scythic derivation of their dynasties[1], and both the Mewar and Gujarat dynasties of the Gehlote or Sesodia Rajputs, although they claim descent from the Sun, have uniformly a Parthian, and

[1] J. A. S. B., vol. iv. page 677.

therefore Buddhist, origin ascribed to them by the Persian historians. [J. A. S. B., vol. iv., p. 684.] And the origin of the Rahtore Rajputs of Kanouj, according to the *Jains* of Marwar as quoted by Colonel Tod, *was Indo-Scythic.* They sprung from the backbone of Indra; but the progenitor in the mortal form was Yavanaswa, A.D. 300, a *Yavan* or Greek of the Aswa or Asi tribe. Then follows Basdeo, A.D. 390, whose daughter married Bahram Sassan of Persia; not a very probable alliance, supposing the lady to be a high caste Hindu princess: the next prince is Ramdeo, A.D. 450, and it will be recollected that between these two dates Fa hian found a Buddhist on the throne; and in about A.D. 630, Hiuan thsang found a Vaisya ruling. The Guptas, therefore, of the Allahabad column and the coins of Kanouj; who were *Hindu Sudras*, if they reigned at all in Kanouj, must have come in after Fa hian's time, A.D. 402-6, or after Hiuan thsang's visit; and the latter is the most probable, from the form of the Deva Nagari used in their inscriptions and on their coins. Although their inscriptions mention Hindu gods, I have elsewhere shown that their coins have many Buddhist associations and emblems, as if they had not shaken off the memory of the past; but the moment the second series of Kanouj coins is touched upon with a known personage Govenda Chandra Deva, A.D. 1072, *all Buddhist emblems* disappear, and the Deva Nagari is easily convertible into modern Deva Nagari; and for the FIRST TIME the ancient Indian coins have reference to Puranic legends in the Boar avatar and discus of Vishnu. The rise of the Ranas of Chitor, another fragment of the Balabhis, is placed in A.D. 727. In A.D. 812, Chitor was invaded from Cabul, and in the next reign but one, about A.D. 850, Bhirtripad founded no less than thirteen principalities, for his sons, in Malwa and Gujarat; a pretty fair specimen of the *then* anarchical state of India. The Cuchwaha race of Rajputs of Jaypur, A.D. 294. Jodhpur, A.D. 210. The Raos of Jaysulmer come into Puranic fable; and it is probable from Alexander finding the Brahman tribe located in their territories or near to their territories; and from Fa hian bearing testimony in A.D. 401, that the Jaysulmer deserts were still inhabited by heretics, [probably Rajputs and Brahmans,] and Hiuan thsang stating the same thing; that the Raos may claim the distinction of being one of the most ancient, if not the most ancient and persistent of the Hindu dynasties. The first *date* is B.C. 94?, when Raja Gaja invaded Kandrupkal in Kashmir, and in A.D. 15? Salbahan conquered the Punjab, but was expelled from Cabul. This Rao is said to have had fifteen sons, *all of whom became Rajas.* We may suppose that some of them emerged from their deserts and essayed

their prowess in Central and Western India. The dates, however, require confirmation from inscriptions or coins. The Orissa dynasty is made to commence A.D. 142. Whatever might have been the religion of the princes at this date, the reigning princes in Fa hian's and Hiuan thsang's time, by their testimony, were Buddhists; and in the Orissa chronology, there is a curious insertion of the Yavanas or Greeks having reigned between A.D. 318 and A.D. 473. From the Cuttack rock inscriptions in Pali, and from its having possessed a celebrated chaitya or temple for the tooth relic of Buddha, we know Cuttack to have been a peculiarly Buddhist country. The Rajas of Bengal date from inscriptions of Kumarapala, A.D. 1017, and there are some few names before this prince. *The* Mackenzie Manuscripts from the South of India also give accounts of the comparatively recent establishment of the Hindu dynasties of the South. Karnata Rajas, A.D. 984; Tuluva do., A.D. 800; Chola do., A.D. 700 to 1000; the Pandyans, however, run up into traditional periods. In running my eye very rapidly over the dates of many hundred inscriptions, translated by the Rev. W. Taylor of Madras, I did not meet with a solitary inscription of the 10th century; and the great majority of those recording gifts to temples or to Brahmans, were of the 14th, 15th, or 16th centuries, but chiefly of the latter. Mr. Walter Elliot, of the Madras Civil Service, who has published 595 inscriptions from the South of India, gives his earliest date A.D. 973 of the *Chalukya* dynasty, and tradition even only carries its origin to the fifth century. The other three great dynasties of the Dekhan, the Kalabhurija, the Bellalas, and the Devagiri, are still more recent[1]. The dates of these endless Hindu inscriptions thus tell a tale that cannot be misunderstood; they were most abundant when Brahmanical influence and Puranic beliefs were most prevalent, the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries, and they are ***altogether wanting at the very period when Buddhist inscriptions and Buddhist annals tell us India professed the Buddhist faith***[2].

But it is unnecessary to carry the enumeration further. Sufficient evidence is afforded that from Sakya Buddha's time downwards, with few exceptions, India had been parcelled amongst petty princes until the Mohammedan conquest; and evidence has been afforded also, that until the breaking up of Buddhism, there are few, IF ANY, legitimate and incontrovertible instances of Hindu monarchies; of course, considering the Puranic lists apocryphal; and were there no other reasons for questioning their authority

[1] Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. iv. p. 1.

[2] If the Rajput families were of Indo-Scythic origin, a question might be raised whether they could have been *pure Hindus*.

than the almost general omission of the names of the princes of every dynasty, whether Buddhist or Hindu, whose names and deeds have been brought to light in inscriptions and coins, these omissions themselves would stamp the Puranic chronologies with a character of suppression, unfaithfulness, and design, which must render the testimony they afford, suspicious and doubtful, even where true; and as they have *prophetic* chapters, it cannot be urged in their favour, that their inventors were necessitated, with a view to preserve consistently their claim to great antiquity, to omit all notice of comparatively modern dynasties. The most singular suppression or omission is that of Vikramáditya, who has established an era, 57 B.C., which is used by the Hindus at present, who, indeed, claim Vikramáditya as a Hindu prince; a doubtful claim; and his name not being met with in the solar or lunar lines, justifies the doubt. I shall, subsequently, have occasion to quote the opinions of competent authorities on the value of the Puranas as chronicles.

Professor Wilson, in speaking of the Vishnu Purana, the date of which he fixes about A.D. 954, says at this time the Kshatriya rule [it appears to me he should rather have said the Buddhist rule, for many of the Kshatriyas [Rajputs] had only recently established their dynasties upon the ruins of Buddhist monarchies; for Fa hian testifies that there was not a single Hindu ruler in his time,] was generally abolished; Brahmans, and even mountaineers, were ruling in Magadha or Bahar; at Allahabad, at Mathura [Mutra], Kantpuri, Kasipuri or Kanyapuri, [probably Benares or Kanouj]. The Guptas, a term indicating a Sudra family, reigned over part of Magadha; and Devarakshita, a person so named, ruled the maritime province of Kalinga. Sudras and cowherds ruled in Surat, along the Nermada [Nerbuddah river,] and at Ougein. And Mlechchhas [foreigners,] possessed the country along the *Indus*, along the Chandra Bhaga, or in the Punjab, Darvika, and Kashmir.

On the question of the fifth point, the absence of *credible* evidence justifies the inference, that during the prevalence of Buddhism there were few, if any kings in India, followers of the Brahmanical system. The prince, Sakya's father, is stated to have been a Kshatrya, but it remains yet to be shown that the belonging to this class in the civil distinctions of society in Buddha's time, necessarily implied the profession of a Brahmanical creed. King Prasenajet, of Kosala, who was Sakya's cousin, and a Kshatrya, was the first to raise a statue of Sakya in sandal wood, which was the model of all subsequent statues to Buddha. Bimbisaro, the king of Magadha, and liege lord of Sakya's father, and the contemporary of

Sakya, is stated by the *Mahawanso* to have been converted to Buddhism by him; and as several other members of the Maurya dynasty and Sunga dynasty, who occupied the Magadha throne at intervals, running through many hundred years, are known to have been Buddhists, either from inscriptions, coins, or from the *Mahawanso*, it is but a legitimate inference that the intermediate kings were also Buddhists, for an alternation of Monotheism and Polytheism in successive members of the same families is not probable.

There are proofs of the following kings of the Magadha line having been of Sakya's faith:—Bimbisaro, B. C. 603, authority *Mahawanso* and Dipawanso[1]; Ajatasattu, B.C. 551, authority Pali Buddhistical annals, J. A. S. B. vol. vi. p. 516; Kalasoko, B.C. 443, authority *Mahawanso*; the celebrated Buddhist king Asoko, B. C. 319, authority inscriptions and *Mahawanso*; Dasaratha, B.C. 250 to 273, inscriptions in Buddhagaya caves; the four Mitras of the Sunga dynasty, B.C. 178,—coins and inscriptions at Gaya; Bhagavata, B.C. 80,—coin with Buddhist emblems from Behat[2]; Chandagutto, about

[1] J. A. S. B. vol. vii. p. 928.

[2] J. A. S. B. vol. iii. pl. 25, fig. 4, p. 436. This very coin, nevertheless, has the erect figure with the trident, which, by being met with on coins of Kadphises of Cabul, associated with a bull, has induced Professor Wilson to think that it affords evidence of Siva having been worshipped at that early period; but the *identical* figure is met with on numerous copper coins of Kadphises [many hundred] *without the bull;* and on a splendid gold coin taken out of the monument of Kadphises at Cabul, the erect figure is naked, has three tails, a *staff* in the right hand, and a *ball* in the left, evidently, therefore, not Siva. All the coins of Kadphises, also, whether with or without the trident figure and bull, have the Buddhist emblem [No. 29 of the plate of emblems,] which is found associated with the Buddhist inscriptions in the caves of Western India. Mr. James Prinsep thought that Kadphises reigned at Cabul about A.D. 200. Moreover, the coins of Kadphises have Greek legends on them; the king has a Persian cap on his head, and he stands beside an altar [vide Fa hian]. The bull is found on the Buddhist satrap coins of Jyonpur and Ougein, and it was otherwise an emblem common to the Buddhists and Saivas. On some of Kadphises' coins, also, the figure with the *bull* and the *trident, is a female,* thus disposing of Siva, J. A. S. B. vol. iii. pl. 34, fig. 1. And the association of the bull with Buddhism is put beyond doubt by a bull standing before the Buddhist sacred Bo-tree, on coins, J. A. S. B. vol. iii. pl. 18, figs. 11 and 12; and vol. vii. pl. 61, figs. 6, 15, 19. The miscalled Brahmany bull is also seen on the Greek coins of Apollodotus, Philoxenus, Azus, and Azilasus, J. A. S. B. vol. iv. p. 341. Moreover, it is carried, together with the horseman, into the *Mohammedan coins,* with the names of the kings in Deva Nagari, as well as Arabic, *Sri Mahomed Sami,* A. H. 588, A.D. 1192, Shams ul Din, A. H. 607, &c. &c., J. A. S. B. vol. iv. p. 682. Some of the Greek coins of Apollodotus have an elephant as well as a bull with Pehlvi legend; those of Diomedes, a bull and Pehlvi; of Azilasus, an elephant and Pehlvi; and those of Azus, a bull and Pehlvi. There is not any Buddhist emblem upon the coins of the Greek Bactrian monarchs; but the moment we pass to the Indo-Scythic coins with Greek characters, Buddhist emblems appear upon them, also upon the Nyssæan and the Leonine coins.—J. A. S. B. vol. v. p. 28.

A.D. 800, inscription at Bhilsa. An inscription at Gaya, A.D. 1197? indicates that Chandra Deva, Dasaratha Kumara, and Srimat Laximana Sena Deva, kings of Gaur, were Buddhists at that recent date.

The father of Asoko, called Bindusaro, is said by the *Mahawanso* to have been of the Brahmanical faith; but with this exception, as the*Mahawanso* is silent with respect to the creed of some other kings of Magadha, it may be inferred from their consanguinity to known Buddhists, that they were also Buddhists; and this inference is strengthened by the assertion of Fa hian, that from the time of Sakya, the kings of Central India [Magadha] reverenced the Buddhist priests, and this practice of theirs was *uninterrupted.* Of the ten sons of Kalasoko, known as the Nandas, one of them is stated by the *Mahawanso* to have reigned *righteously* for twenty-two years, and his nine surviving brothers also to have reigned *righteously* for twenty-two years. We can scarcely suppose that this complimentary phrase, which is evidently used in a religious sense, would have been applied to *heretics.* The ninth brother, Dhana-nando, was put to death by the Brahman Chanako, who installed in the sovereignty *over all India,* a descendant of the dynasty of Moriyan sovereigns, endowed with *illustrious* and *beneficent* attributes, surnamed CHANDAGUTTO [the supposed Sandracottus of the Greeks], who reigned thirty-four years, B.C. 381. The *Mahawanso* does not make any mention of his being the son of a barber, according to the Greeks. The celebrated Buddhist, king Asoko, B.C. 319, was a grandson of Chandagutto, and reigned thirty-seven years. The Burmese chronology embraces the whole of the above Magadha kings, from the grandfather of Sakya, with similar dates, and considers them Buddhist. And here I may quote part of the Annual Address of the Marquis of Northampton to the Royal Society, on the 29th of November last. Eulogizing the late lamented James Prinsep of Calcutta, he says, "Mr. Prinsep *ascertained* that at the period of Alexander's conquests, *India was under the sway of Buddhist sovereigns and Buddhist institutions, and that the earliest monarchs of India are not associated with a Brahmanical creed or dynasty.*"

If we look to the coins and inscriptions which have been brought to light in such profusion of late years, it will be found that they give weight to the testimony of the Chinese travellers. We have not any coins having reference to Hinduism before those of the Guptas, who were Sudras of Kanouj, about the eighth century, A.D., and even their coins are not free from Buddhist associations; for the Swastica and No. 34 of the Buddhist emblems are on the gold coin, No. 10, pl. 26, vol. iii. p. 448, J. A. S. B., with the archer,

altar, figure, and humped bull; and their inscriptions show in how humble a relation the Brahmans stood to princes at that period, affording a remarkable contrast to the inscriptions of two or three centuries later date, [that of Harsha, A.D. 973,] in which the Brahmans are styled "lords of the earth." The coins from Affghanistan speak to us of Greek and Buddhist-Scythic princes only, and probably of some fire-worshippers. Those from Ceylon are, of course, Buddhist; those from Gujarat and Western India are chiefly Buddhist; but from a few of them an inference is admissible, that some of the princes in whose honour they were struck, were sun-worshippers. Buddhism, however, or may be, its successor Jainism, long retained its hold in Gujarat, and, indeed, does so still. Dr. Kennedy, in his account of the recent campaign in Affghanistan, describing the tomb of Mahmud of Ghazni, the destroyer of the celebrated temple of Somnath in Kattywar, says, the specimens of architecture and sculpture which were taken from Somnath by Mahmud in the eleventh century, [January, A.D. 1026,] and which are now in the garden of his tomb at Ghazni[1], are of Jain [Buddhist?] origin, confirming the speculations of Lieut. Postans, that this celebrated temple, despite the disguise of supplemental Brahmanical architecture, was *originally* a Buddhist structure, and *afterwards* was appropriated to the worship of Siva, and probably it was so dedicated at the time of its capture by Mahmud[2].

Mr. Vincent Tregear obtained some coins from the vicinity of Jyonpur[3], of the DEVAS and DATTAS, with legends in the oldest form of Pali, some of them, indeed, antecedent to the Greek invasion; and more than one coin of PURUSHA DATTA, which it requires no great stretch of credulity to identify as the coin of PORUS, the antagonist of Alexander; and if this be admitted, then will probability be converted into almost certainty, and Porus prove a Buddhist monarch. At the time of Alexander's invasion, Buddhism must have been in the palmy days of its power[4], judging from the inscriptions, the coins, the topes, the temples, the monasteries, the obelisks, the multitudinous and gigantic cave excavations, and other works of art, most of which are referrible, not only by the internal evidence they afford, but by the testimony of the *Mahawanso*, to the period between the first and sixth centuries before Christ, and more particularly to the period when Asoko reigned, B.C. 319 to B.C. 282.

[1] Vol. ii. p. 60. [2] J. A. S. B. vol. vii. page 868.

[3] J. A. S. B. vol. vii. p. 1052.

[4] Mr. James Prinsep says, a century or two prior to the Christian era, Buddhism flourished in the height of its glory from Kashmir to Ceylon.—J. A. S. B. vol. vii. p. 1047.

The coins[1] which were dug up at Ougein, and forwarded by Mr. Bax of the Bombay Civil Service to Major Ouseley of Sagar, are supposed to be the most ancient of all the coins hitherto found in India or Affghanistan. They have, indisputably, Buddhist emblems upon them, and the princes in whose honour they were struck must have been Buddhists. The emblems are,—the chaitya[2], Sakya's Bo-tree, the praying-wheel, a seated figure of Buddha; a curious emblem, probably one of the forms of the praying-wheel; and a new form of the cross, one or more of these being associated with a standing male figure with a long staff; a humped bull, [sometimes standing before the sacred Bo-tree,] an elephant, a tiger, the heads of oxen [such as Fa hian describes surmounting Buddha's staff], or a female figure seated cross-legged. Dr. Burns obtained precisely similar coins from Kaira in Gujarat, and therefore of the Ougein princes. Why have we not similar vestiges of kings of the Brahmanical faith?

From inscriptions upon copper plates dug up at Baroda in Gujarat, dated A.D. 812 and A.D. 822, it appears that at that time India was divided into four kingdoms; namely, Gajara to the west, the Malwa Raj, the Goura or Bengal, and the Sateshwara, south of the capital Elapoor. The names of the ruling kings are not given.

But sufficient facts and circumstances have been adduced, testifying to the prevalence of Buddhist monarchies, for twelve or fourteen centuries before facts and circumstances bear similar testimony to the prevalence or even existence of monarchies under the Brahmanical system, excepting always the apocryphal testimony afforded by Puranic fables.

With respect to the sixth point, the Chinese authors assert from personal knowledge, that as late as the early part of the sixth century of Christ, the Brahmans in India were a tribe of strangers, and the chief of the tribes of the barbarians. With the bias arising from the long continued tacit admission of the claims of the Brahmans to an origin emanating from the fabled ages, to a sacredness of character which isolated them from their fellow men, and to a dignity of station which placed them at the head of the religious system of nations, it is difficult for us to give credence to the assertions of the Chinese; and yet, by putting into juxtaposition numerous facts and circumstances, possibly trifling in themselves, they in the aggregate, and in the absence of positive testimony, sanction conclusions scarcely militating against the positive asser-

[1] J. A. S. B. vol. vii. p. 61, page 1054.
[2] Vide Appendix of Emblems.

tions of the Chinese. The position of Brahmans in early Indian society, must be gathered from the negative evidence of what they were not, rather than from the *puranic* evidence of what they were said to be. In investigating their position, the question of caste must necessarily be touched upon; but it is a matter so extensive in its bearings, that it will demand specific consideration.

Our first object will be to obtain the *earliest* credible information of the ancient state of the Indian community; and this is supplied by Sakya [Buddha] himself, who, in the commencement of the sixth century before Christ, is fortunately interrogated by his disciples on the subject. The details furnished by Sakya can be tested by a comparison with the accounts of the state of India supplied to us by Arrian from the lost works of Ptolemy and Aristobulus, the companions of Alexander; the accounts of Megasthenes, the ambassador from Seleucus to the reigning monarch at Patiliputto, [the modern Patna,] and by various other Western authors: and the comparison will afford no small surprise that there should be so many points of accordance in the details furnished to us by the Buddhist scriptures and the Greek historians.

Sakya [Buddha] is represented in the *Agganna-Suttan*[1], which is one of the discourses in the *Patiwaggo,* section of the *Dighanikayo,* of the *Suttapitako,* to be explaining to his disciples WASETTHO and BHARADDWAJO[2], Brahman converts to Buddhism, the progress of the regeneration of the world and the constitution of society after one of its periodical destructions: the discourse took place in the city of *Sawatthipura,* the capital of Kosalo, [Oude,] and in the monastery of *Pubbaramo.* He says, "Living creatures first appear by an apparitional birth, subsisting on the element of felicity, illumined by their own effulgence, moving through the air, delightfully located, and existing in unity and concord." Then, it appears, a *savoury* substance was produced on the surface of the earth; one of the hitherto happy and passionless beings was induced to taste it, the rest followed his example, and the passions of sense fell upon them, and they lost their state of purity; successive supplies of objects of sense, and successive excesses, produced a state of degeneracy, leading to the union of the sexes; the increase of mankind, the building of houses to conceal their indulgencies, the appropriation of lands and their cultivation, the constitution of society, the conflicts arising from the pursuit of selfish objects, the outrages on property and

[1] J. A. S. B., vol. vii., page 693. Turnour's Translations.

[2] This is the identical name of the Brahman who gives the sumptuous feast to Bharata and his army at Allahabad, as related in the *Ramayana,* and who is one of the seven Hindu Rishis.

persons, the punishments resulting, and the necessity for rulers, laws, and their administrators.

This is the *substance* of the first part of Sakya's discourse, and before proceeding further, I pause for a moment to draw attention to the unexpected coincidence between Buddha's views of the pure origin and subsequent degeneracy of mankind, and our own Biblical accounts. Adam, in Paradise, was pure, and happy, and passionless; he deemed his enjoyments imperfect, he tasted the forbidden fruit, and fell. Adam and Eve hid themselves from the Lord because they knew they were naked; they were driven from Paradise; the sexual passions arose, mankind multiplied, the earth was cultivated, the constitution of society with its evils, the necessity for rulers, &c., took place. But the chief points of coincidence are in the original innocency of man's state, his indulgence, and his consequent fall and degeneracy.

But taking up the state of society when outrages on property commenced, Buddha says:—"Men assembled and deliberated, saying most assuredly wicked actions have become prevalent among mankind; everywhere, theft, degradation, and punishment will prevail. It will be most proper that we should elect some one individual who would be able to eradicate most fully that which should be eradicated; to degrade that which should be degraded; to expel those who should be expelled; and we will assign to him [the person elected,] a share of our produce." A ruler, in consequence of so resolving, [SAMMATO] was elected, and being the first, he was called the MAHA-SAMMATO[1], [the great elect;] and being also the lord of [*Khettani*] cultivated lands, he secondly acquired the appellation of Khattiyo, [Kshatrya[2];] and as by his righteous administration he rendered [*rangeti*] mankind happy, he thirdly acquired the appellation of RAJA. Buddha adds: thus it was that they were elevated, but they are from the same stock of mankind, and of a perfect [original] equality with the people.

Buddha goes on to say, "This thought occurred to the people; 'Among mankind wickedness has descended: theft, degradation, fraud, punishment, and expulsion, have appeared. It will be most proper that we should [*bhaheyana*] suppress wicked and impious acts;' and they accordingly did [*bhahenti*] suppress wicked and impious acts. These *Bahmana* [suppressors or eradicators] hence derived their first name, BRAHMANA[3]." He then alludes to the

[1] This individual was Sakya in one of his former incarnations.

[2] The Brahmans make the Kshatrya, or warriors, the *second* caste, placing themselves first.

[3] In Asoko's edicts on the rocks in Cuttack, they are invariably called *Babhana*, [elsewhere in Old Pali written *Bamhena* and Bahmana,] the Sanskrit word *Brah-*

Brahmana exulting in the wild life they were leading, in leaf huts built in the wilderness, and their being called in consequence Jhayaka; and their ceasing to exult in that life, and adds, like the Khattiyo, they are no more than a division of the same tribe, who were in all respects on a footing of original equality. This appointment of suppressors, eradicators, inquisitors, or inspectors, is confirmed in a most singular manner from the most opposite and unexpected sources,—the Buddhist emperor Asoko, and the Greek historian Arrian. The sixth edict of the celebrated Buddhist emperor Piyadasi or Asoko, on the rocks of Dauli in Cuttack, and those of Girnar in Gujarat, appoint instructors or CENSORS for all the relations of life, adding, "Moreover, for their [the people's] better welfare among them, an *awarder of punishment* is duly installed[1]."

Mr. James Prinsep says, the edict may be either regarded as having established a system of education regulating conduct through life, or a system of judicial administration to take cognizance, and decide on all departures from moral law. But Buddha, who speaks 300 to 400 years before the time of the edicts, says, the inspectors were appointed expressly to suppress wicked and impious acts; and from the translations of a Chinese novel by Mr. R. Thom, printed at Canton, called the "Lasting Resentment of Miss Keaou Lwan Wang," these very persons,—the inquisitors or censors,—form a part of Chinese [Buddhist] policy in modern times, for the lady appeals to the imperial censor, "*who was traversing that part of the country, inspecting and reforming abuses,*" for redress!!

A reference to Arrian, quoted subsequently, shows that his sixth class of the people of India, at the time of Alexander's inroad, were precisely these inspectors, or inquisitors, or censors, [*episcopi*] who reported to the kings where regal rule prevailed, and to the magistrates in the democratic states. We have thus Buddha, Asoko's edicts, and Arrian, confirming each other[2].

mana being only met with in Modern Pali, J. A. S. B. vol. vii. p. 427, and *Báhman* is a common term for Brahmans in the Dekhan to this day.

[1] J. A. S. B. vol. vii. pp. 254, 268, and 448.

[2] In confirmation, also, of the accuracy of Arrian's authorities, Ptolemy, and Aristobulus, and Nearchus, in respect to the allusion to democratical governments in India, we may point out the republic of Wassali [Allahabad], mentioned by Sakya [Buddha] himself, and the *elective* kings in Gujarat brought to light by the coins*; not forgetting Susunago, who was *elected* by the people to the Magadha throne, B.C. 471. And we have an instance of the practice still prevailing, in the chiefs of the Banswarra state *electing* a Raja last year.

* J. A. S. B. vol. vi. pp. 380, 381, and 385.

But to proceed with Sakya's account of the *early* state of society. He says, "The portion of mankind who had formed domestic connexions [and built houses for themselves] became *Wussutakam-mante,* distinguished as skilful workmen or artificers, and in consequence of their becoming distinguished, from their domestic ties and skilfulness, they obtained the appellation of Wessa, [Sanskrit, Vaisya,] but they were of original equality with the rest of mankind."

Further, there were some persons who were addicted to hunting [luddá], from being called luddá, luddá, the appellation Suddá [Sanskrit, Sudra,] was formed. It was thus, that to this class or caste of Suddá, that name was originally given; but they were of original equality with the rest of mankind. "From *each of these castes,* certain individuals despising and reviling their own castes respectively, each abandoned his habitation, and led an habitationless life [*agariyan pubbajito*], saying, I will become [Sumano] an ascetic or priest." Hence Buddha exemplifies that the ascetic or sacerdotal order was formed from each of the four castes, and does *not appertain to any particular caste.* Moreover he says, they had no habitations, and must therefore have lived in the open air or in groves, or forests, precisely as Arrian's Gymnosophists are represented to have done[1]. And he concludes by saying, "Whether Khattiyo, Brahmo, Wesso, Suddo, or Sumano, if they sin in deed, word, or thought, they go to hell; but if they are righteous in deed, word, and thought, and be of the true or supreme faith, by the merit of that faith they are reproduced after death, in the felicitous heavens;" and in another place he says, "The sinful heretic, on the dismemberment of his frame after death, is born in the tormenting, everlasting, and unendurable *hell.*" We thus learn from the account of Sakya, that in his time society was divided into five constituent bodies,—the rulers and warriors,—the suppressors of crime, or inquisitors, or censors,—the artificers and mercantile class,—the hunters and shepherds,—and the ascetics or priests; but these were all civil distinctions, excepting the last, resulting from professions and habits, and were entirely uninfluenced by religious *prescriptions,* or rather *proscriptions.* Hence the Brahmans, or rather *Babhana,* although admitted to exist, were charged with civil functions, and were destitute of a religious character, which was confined to the ascetics or priests, who were derived from all the other classes. Hence, also, it may be understood, that there might be Brahman Buddhists, Kshatrya Buddhists, Vaisya Buddhists, and Sudra

[1] Asceticism and monachism existed amongst the Buddhist priesthood, as eremitism and monachism existed amongst the early Christians.

Buddhists, without involving the necessity of their being converts from another faith.

We are thus afforded a standard of comparison with the state of society in India about 278 years afterwards, as described by Arrian, chiefly from the authority of the companions of Alexander, and partly from Megasthenes. The lapse of years could not have added two classes of society not enumerated by Sakya; namely, the soldiers and husbandmen, or cultivators of the soil. The former, therefore, must have been included in Sakya's Khattiyo class, and the latter in the Sudda. For the sake of immediate reference to Arrian's text of his *Historiæ Indicæ,* I have thought it right to annex the chapters in which he describes the constitution of society in India, from the edition, "Georgii Raphelii; Amstelædami, 1757[1]."

[1] XI. *Νενέμηνται δὲ οἱ πάντες Ἰνδοὶ ἐς ἑπτὰ μάλιστα γενεάς· ἐν μὲν αὐτοῖσιν οἱ σοφισταί εἰσι, πλήθει μὲν μείους τῶν ἄλλων, δόξῃ δὲ καὶ τιμῇ γεραρώτατοι. Οὔτε γάρ τι τῷ σώματι ἐργάζεσθαι ἀναγκαίη σφὶν προσκέαται· οὔτέ τι ἀποφέρειν ἀφ᾽ ὅτου πονέουσιν ἐς τὸ κοινόν· οὐδέ τι ἄλλο ἀνάγκης ἁπλῶς ἐπεῖναι τοῖσι σοφιστῇσιν, ὅτι μὴ θύειν τὰς θυσίας τοῖσι θεοῖσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἰνδῶν· καὶ ὅστις δὲ ἰδίᾳ θύει, ἐξηγητὴς αὐτῷ τῆς θυσίης τῶν τις σοφιστῶν τούτων γίνεται, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως κεχαρισμένα τοῖς θεοῖς θύσαντας. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ μαντικῆς οὗτοι μοῦνοι Ἰνδῶν δαήμονες, οὐδὲ ἐφεῖται ἄλλῳ μαντεύεσθαι, ὅτι μὴ σοφῷ ἀνδρί· μαντεύουσι δὲ ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῶν ὡραίων τοῦ ἔτεος, καὶ εἴ τις ἐς τὸ κοινὸν συμφορὴ καταλαμβάνει· τὰ ἴδια δὲ ἑκάστοισιν οὔ σφιν μέλει μαντεύεσθαι· ἢ ὡς οὐκ ἐξικνεομένης τῆς μαντικῆς ἐς τὰ μικρότερα, ἢ ὡς οὐκ ἄξιον ἐπὶ τούτοισι πονέεσθαι. Ὅστις δὲ ἁμάρτοι ἐς τρεῖς μαντευσάμενος, τούτῳ δὲ ἄλλο μὲν κακὸν γίγνεσθαι οὐδὲν, σιωπᾶν δὲ εἶναι ἐπάναγκες τοῦ λοιποῦ· καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ἐξαναγκάσει τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον φωνῆσαι, ὅτου ἡ σιωπὴ κατακέκριται. Οὗτοι γυμνοὶ διαιτῶνται οἱ σοφισταὶ, τοῦ μὲν χειμῶνος ὑπαίθριοι ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ, τοῦ δὲ θέρεος ἐπὴν ὁ ἥλιος κατέχῃ, ἐν τοῖσι λειμῶσι καὶ τοῖσιν ἕλεσιν ὑπὸ δένδρεσι μεγάλοισιν· ὧν τὴν σκιὴν Νέαρχος λέγει ἐς πέντε πλέθρα ἐν κύκλῳ ἐξικνέεσθαι, καὶ ἂν μυρίους ὑπὸ ἑνὶ δένδρεϊ σκιάζεσθαι· τηλικαῦτα εἶναι ταῦτα τὰ δένδρεα. Σιτέονται δὲ ὡραῖα, καὶ τὸν φλοιὸν τῶν δένδρων, γλυκύν τε ὄντα τὸν φλοιὸν καὶ τρόφιμον, οὐ μεῖον ἤπερ αἱ βάλανοι τῶν φοινίκων. Δεύτεροι δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτοισιν οἱ γεωργοί εἰσιν· οὗτοι πλήθει πλεῖστοι Ἰνδῶν ἐόντες· καὶ τούτοισιν οὔτε ὅπλα ἐστὶν ἀρήϊα, οὔτε μέλει τὰ πολέμια ἔργα, ἀλλὰ τὴν χώρην οὗτοι ἐργάζονται· καὶ τοὺς φόρους τοῖς τε βασιλεῦσι καὶ τῇσι πόλεσιν ὅσαι αὐτόνομοι, οὗτοι ἀποφέρουσι· καὶ εἰ πόλεμος ἐς ἀλλήλους τοῖσιν Ἰνδοῖσιν τύχοι, τῶν ἐργαζομένων τὴν γῆν οὐ θέμις σφὶν ἅπτεσθαι, οὐδὲ αὐτὴν τὴν γῆν τέμνειν· ἀλλὰ οἱ μὲν πολεμοῦσι καὶ κατακαίνουσιν ἀλλήλους ὅπως τύχοιεν, οἱ δὲ πλησίον αὐτῶν κατ᾽ ἡσυχίην ἀροῦσιν, ἢ τρυγῶσιν, ἢ κλαδοῦσιν, ἢ θερίζουσιν. Τρίτοι δέ εἰσιν Ἰνδοῖσιν οἱ νομέες, οἱ ποιμένες τε καὶ βουκόλοι, καὶ οὗτοι οὔτε κατὰ πόλιας, οὔτε ἐν τῇσι κώμῃσιν οἰκέουσι. νομάδες τέ εἰσι, καὶ ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρεα βιοτεύουσι· φόρον δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἀπὸ τῶν κτηνέων ἀποφέρουσι· καὶ θηρεύουσιν οὗτοι ἀνὰ τὴν χώρην ὄρνιθάς τε καὶ ἄγρια θηρία.*

XII. *Τέταρτον δὲ ἐστι τὸ δημιουργικόν τε καὶ καπηλικὸν γένος. Καὶ οὗτοι λειτουργοί εἰσι, καὶ φόρον ἀποφέρουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων τῶν σφετέρων, πλήν γε δὴ ὅσοι*

Arrian divides the Indians into seven classes, and arranges at the head of them those called sophists, σοφισταί, or learned men, who were inferior in number to the other classes, but far surpassed them in honour and distinction. They did not labour nor contribute to the public support, but they sacrificed to the gods[1] for the public welfare, and assisted private persons in making their sacrifices. They were the sole persons skilled in divination. They made predictions of the seasons of the year, and of impending public calamities, but they did not predict with respect to private affairs. If they predicted falsely they were condemned to silence in future. *They went naked;* in the winter they basked in the sun, and in summer reposed in the meadows and cool places under trees[2], some of which Nearchus describes as covering five acres, [πλέθρα] and capable of shading ten thousand men. They lived on fruit and the bark of trees.

τὰ ἀρήϊα ὅπλα ποιέουσιν· οὗτοι δὲ καὶ μισθὸν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ προσλαμβάνουσιν. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ γένει οἵ τε ναυπηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ναῦταί εἰσιν, ὅσοι κατὰ τοὺς ποταμοὺς πλώουσι. Πέμπτον δὲ γένος ἐστὶν Ἰνδοῖσιν, οἱ πολεμισταί· πλήθει μὲν δεύτερον μετὰ τοὺς γεωργοὺς, πλείστῃ δὲ ελευθερίῃ τε καὶ εὐθυμίῃ ἐπιχρεόμενον· καὶ οὗτοι ἀσκηταὶ μόνων τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων εἰσί. Τὰ δὲ ὅπλα ἄλλοι αὐτοῖς ποιέουσι, καὶ ἵππους ἄλλοι παρέχουσι· καὶ διακονοῦσιν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου ἄλλοι, οἳ τούς τε ἵππους αὐτοῖς θεραπεύουσι, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐκκαθαίρουσι, καὶ τοὺς ελέφαντας ἄγουσι, καὶ τὰ ἅρματα κοσμέουσί τε καὶ ἡνιοχεύουσιν. Αὐτοὶ δὲ, ἔστ' ἂν μὲν πολεμεῖν δεῖ, πολεμοῦσιν· εἰρήνης δὲ γενομένης, εὐθυμέουσι· καί σφιν μισθὸς ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ τοσόσδε ἔρχεται, ὡς καὶ ἄλλους τρέφειν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ εὐμαρέως. Ἕκτοι δέ εἰσιν Ἰνδοῖσιν, οἱ ἐπίσκοποι καλεόμενοι. Οὗτοι ἐφορῶσι τὰ γινόμενα κατά τε τὴν χώρην, καὶ κατὰ τὰς πόλιας· καὶ ταῦτα ἀναγγέλλουσι τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἵναπερ βασιλεύονται Ἰνδοί· ἢ τοῖς τέλεσιν, ἵναπερ αὐτόνομοι εἰσί καὶ τούτοις οὐ θέμις ψεῦδος ἀναγγεῖλαι οὐδὲν, οὐδέ τις Ἰνδῶν αἰτίην ἔσχε ψεύσασθαι. Ἕβδομοι δέ εἰσιν, οἱ ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν βουλευόμενοι ὁμοῦ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἢ κατὰ πόλιας ὅσαι αὐτόνομοι, σὺν τῇσιν ἀρχῇσι. Πλήθει μὲν ὀλίγον τὸ γένος τοῦτό ἐστι, σοφίῃ δὲ καὶ δικαιότητι, ἐκ πάντων προκεκριμένον· ἔνθεν οἵ τε ἄρχοντες αὐτοῖσιν ἐπιλέγονται, καὶ ὅσοι νομάρχαι καὶ ὕπαρχοι καὶ θησαυροφύλακές τε καὶ στρατοφύλακες, ναύαρχοί τε καὶ ταμίαι, καὶ τῶν κατὰ γεωργίην ἔργων ἐπιστάται. Γαμέειν δὲ ἐξ ἑτέρου γένεος, οὐ θέμις· οἷον τοῖσι γεωργοῖσιν ἐκ τοῦ δημιουργικοῦ, ἢ ἔμπαλιν· οὐδὲ δύο τέχνας ἐπιτηδεύειν τὸν αὐτὸν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο θέμις· οὐδὲ ἀμείβειν ἐξ ἑτέρου γένεος εἰς ἕτερον· οἷον, γεωργικὸν ἐκ νομέως γενέσθαι, ἢ νομέα ἐκ δημιουργικοῦ. Μοῦνον σφίσιν ἀνεῖται, σοφιστὴν ἐκ παντὸς γένεος γενέσθαι· ὅτι οὐ μαλθακὰ τοῖσι σοφιστῇσιν εἰσὶ τὰ πρήγματα, ἀλλὰ πάντων ταλαιπωρότατα.

[1] We have it from the mouths of the gymnosophists, that they worshipped God only with hymns, nor did they sacrifice animal life at all; Arrian, therefore, in his *τοῖς Θεοῖς θύσαντας*, must have slipped into the plural number while thinking of his own polytheism. Elsewhere he says they worshipped God only.

[2] Ficus Indica. One of these trees in the Nanah Mawal, in the Dekhan, of which I have a drawing, and under which I encamped for some days, was capable of affording vertical shade to 20,000 men; allowing a foot and a half square to each man.

The next class to the sophists was the husbandmen, γεωργοί, the most numerous in the Indian community. These did not carry arms nor engage in war, but cultivated their lands and paid tribute to the kings or the FREE CITIES. In intestine wars it was looked upon as a crime to devastate their fields, and they quietly attended to their harvest and *vintage*.

The third class was the shepherds, νομέες, or herdsmen, ποιμένες τε καὶ βουκόλοι, and these neither lived in towns nor villages, but led a wandering life in the mountains, hunting birds and wild beasts, and paying tribute from their herds and flocks. To this day, this class of society is separate and distinct from the Hindu community, under the name of BRINJARIES, with precisely the manners and habits described by Arrian. They do not follow the Brahmanical or Puranic creeds, but have their own peculiar faith and ceremonies. I had occasion, formerly[1], to call public attention to the *identity* of the peculiar personal ornaments worn by the Brinjaries, male and female, and those sculptured on the figures in the Buddhist caves in Western India; and the mention of the tribe by Sakya and Arrian, gives increased interest to the reference.

The fourth tribe was that of the artificers and tradesmen, δημιουργικόν τε καὶ καπηλικὸν: they were public servants, and paid tribute by their labour[2], excepting such as fabricated arms. These were paid by the treasury. In this class, also, were ship and boat builders.

The fifth tribe was that of the soldier, πολεμισταί, who exclusively used arms and engaged in military affairs; and they were supported from the public treasury. As was the case with Western nations of the same age, they used war chariots, drawn by horses, in battle; and as has occurred in Europe, the testimony of this fact is only found in ancient writings and sculptures, the usage having ceased for ages.

The sixth class was that of the episcopi, ἐπίσκοποι, or inquisitors, who denounced all offenders and offences, whether in town or country, to the kings where kings ruled, and to the magistrates where communities governed themselves. Arrian here pays a high compliment to the moral tone of the Indians at this period, by saying, that it was not lawful for these inquisitors to report untruly; ***but, indeed, the Indians have never been charged with the want of truth!***

[1] Transactions of Royal Asiatic Society, vol. iii.

[2] Arrian evidently describes the Bara Balowteh village system, still in existence; the trades working gratuitously for the government, and the husbandman paying them by a trifling share of his produce.

The seventh class consisted of those who consulted on public affairs: they were few in number, but far superior to all the others in wisdom and equity. From them were chosen the leaders of armies and fleets, provincial governors, magistrates, and superintendants of rural affairs. Arrian concludes by saying, that it was unlawful for these classes to intermarry with each other; and it was not permitted to a husbandman to marry amongst the mechanics, nor the reverse; nor could one man exercise two trades, nor leave his own and adopt another; a husbandman could not turn shepherd, nor the latter turn mechanic. *Nevertheless, all classes might join that of the sophists,* [*in fact that class was so constituted,*] whose life, so far from being an easy one, was the most painful of all. The most singular feature in this description of the constituents of Indian society in the third century before Christ, IS THE ABSOLUTE AND TOTAL OMISSION OF THE TERM BRAHMAN, AND OF ANY ALLUSION TO THEM WHATEVER; moreover, the term never once occurs from the beginning to the end of Arrian's *Historiæ Indicæ.*

Is it possible to suppose, therefore, that a talented and distinguished person like Arrian, high in station, and with all the necessary means at his disposal, who sat down deliberately to give an account of a great people, should have forgotten to mention the primary and most influential class of society, the Brahmans. If they had been a numerous body, or held any station whatever; indeed, if they had existed at all, excepting as *Ma touan lin* describes them, 700 years afterwards, "chief of the tribes of *Barbarians,*" [foreigners,] or as Soung yun speaks of them, "The Brahmans [who] are considered as the superior cast amongst the STRANGERS," they ought to have had a place in Arrian's account of the constitution of Indian society. In fact, when he notices them in his Alexander's Expedition, which is only done, I believe, thrice, and then casually, he evidently alludes to them as a tribe. After speaking of the towns of the Malli[1], which were below the junction of the Jelum and Chenab, he says, "Alexander led his forces to a town of the *Brahmans*[2]," apparently in the territories of the Malli, for it was said some of the Malli had sought refuge in it. The town and castle were vigorously and pertinaciously defended by *its inhabitants,* 15000 of whom lost their lives;] and this very defence proves that the Brahmans[3] were armed, and, therefore, not exclusively a sacer-

[1] A free people living under their own laws. Anabasis, lib. vi. cap. vi.

[2] Anabasis, lib. vi. cap. vii.

[3] In lib. vi. cap. xvii. Arrian identifies these Brahmans with the sophists [or gymnosophists] of Indian society, [οἱ δὴ σοφισταὶ τοῖς Ινδοῖς εἰσιν,] and as the

dotal class as they pretend to be from their very origin. But, in truth, there is no mention whatever of the Brahmans, [the Gymnosophists not being Brahmans,] until Alexander had descended below the confluence of the Hydaspis and the Acesines, [Jelum and Chenab,] to the Hydraotes, [Ravi,] somewhere about the present Multan, and proximately to the only locality in India where Fa hian found *heretics* congregated in numbers, the arid country between the Indus and the Jumna. Hiuan thsang, also, in the seventh century, locates a heretic population, without saying whether it was Brahmanical or not, between the Indus and Ajmir. And the Chinese general, Heuen tse, who had carried O lo na shun, the minister of King Siladitya of Berar, prisoner to China, A.D. 648 to 650, on his return to India to find the philosopher's stone, says, he travelled all over the *kingdoms of the Brahmans,* [Po lo mun,] which were met with in the country called the waters of Pan cha fa, [Punjab.] But previously to enlarging on the probably secular character of the Brahmans, it is necessary to call attention to the points of correspondence between Buddha's description of the origin and constitution of Indian society, and the description of Indian society by Arrian. In the end of the seventh century before Christ, or the beginning of the sixth, Buddha divides the population of India into five distinct bodies:

1st. The rulers and lords of cultivated lands, *Khettani,* whence Khattiyo, [in Sanskrit, Kshatrya.]

2nd. Suppressors, eradicators, inquisitors or censors, [Bahmana or Bhabana; in Sanskrit, Brahmana.]

3rd. Artificers, mechanics, tradesmen, &c., Wessa, [in Sanskrit, Vaisya.]

4th. The shepherds, herdsmen, and hunters, Sudda, [in Sanskrit, Sudra.]

5th. The priests and ascetics, Samana, [in Sanskrit, Sramana,] constituted from the four preceding classes.

About 270 years afterwards, Arrian's authorities, the companions of Alexander, together with Megasthenes, divide the population of India into seven distinct bodies.

5th. The military tribe, which combined with the seventh class, [the counsellors,] corresponds with Buddha's first tribe.

6th. The inquisitors, suppressors, eradicators or censors, *corresponding precisely* with Buddha's second class.

4th. Artificers, mechanics, tradesmen, &c., corresponding exactly with Buddha's third class.

sophists belonged to all castes, it is impossible these miscalled Brahmans could have been the same as the modern Brahmans.

3rd. The shepherds, herdsmen, and hunters, corresponding exactly with Buddha's fourth class.

1st. The sophists, corresponding exactly with Buddha's fifth class, for the sophists were *constituted from all* the other classes.

Arrian's second tribe is that of the husbandmen, the most numerous of all, but it is not specifically mentioned by Buddha; however, as he derives Khattiyo [Sanskrit Kshatrya,] from Khettani, cultivated lands, it should be comprised in his first class, for the Sudra tribe is limited, from their habits, to the hunters and shepherds; there is, therefore, no other location for the husbandmen than amongst the Khattiyos. Arrian describes the husbandman as respected, and having his rights preserved even in the strife of war.

Arrian's small seventh class of leaders of armies and fleets, governors and magistrates, is not distinctively put forth by Buddha, but it must be included amongst his "rulers," and belongs, therefore, to the Khattiyo tribe.

Although the above two accounts of the state of the Indian population were written with an interval of nearly three centuries between them, it appears to me that few persons can read the details without the strongest impression being left upon their minds, that both accounts essentially describe *the same state of society*, in fact, the same social organization of the nations of India; nor can the reader fail to be struck with surprise, not that there should be discrepancies, but that there should be such extensive accordance, after the lapse of three centuries, between the details supplied by foreigners, heretics, and Greeks, and those supplied by a learned native, himself prince, saint, spiritual leader, and historian.

It remains to be asked, whether these accounts describe a Buddhist or Brahmanical state of society. Buddha mentions Bahmans, [Brahmans,] but they belonged to a secular class; they bore civil offices, and the sacerdotal class was entirely distinct from them; and, indeed, it was so constituted, that it was impossible Brahmans could have belonged to it, with the exclusive character they now arrogate to themselves. Moreover, the institution of inquisitors, or censors, is a Buddhist institution; it is found recorded in Asoko's edicts in the third century before Christ, shortly after or contemporary with Alexander's invasion; and it exists to this day amongst the Buddhists of China. As far as this fact goes, therefore, Buddha's and Arrian's description relates to a Buddhist social system.

In all states of society, even in incipient civilization, it is found that members of the community are set apart for sacerdotal pur-

poses. Buddha states, that this order in India was the Samana or Buddhist priesthood, and the account of Arrian practically does not militate against it; and as no other sacerdotal class whatever is mentioned as a constituent body, the people in general must necessarily have been Buddhist.

With respect to the pastoral class, shepherds and herdsmen, if it be represented by the modern Brinjaries, it is to this day not Brahmanical. It is not stated by Buddha what was the religious persuasion of the rulers, including the Khattiyos and the Wessos, [Vaisya,] but we have so many *ancient* inscriptions and coins of Buddhist kings, and NO COINS WHATEVER OF ANCIENT *Hindu rulers* until the seventh or eighth century A.D., or even doubtful inscriptions before the fourth century, that it is not unfair to infer, combined with the preceding facts, that the rulers were generally Buddhist, as is asserted by the Chinese; and I have already quoted Mr. James Prinsep's opinion, which is of the highest value, that at the time of Alexander's inroad, India was not only under Buddhist rulers, but Buddhist institutions. With respect to the Vaisya, [or tradesmen class,] a considerable proportion of the *bankers* and *Wanees* [dealers in grocery, grain, drugs, &c.,] are Jains, [a schismatic offset from the Buddhists,] in many parts of India to this day.

It is found that Arrian's sixth, fourth, third, and first classes, correspond exactly with the second, third, fourth, and fifth classes described by Buddha; the same arguments, therefore, apply to them, and the same deductions are admissible, as in the former instances. Arrian's fifth tribe of soldiers, and his seventh class of leaders of fleets and armies, &c., belong to Buddha's "rulers and lords of cultivated lands." A class of "*counsellors*" does not apply to a society with Brahmanical phases, and it might have grown out of the necessities of government and the progress of civilization between Buddha's and Alexander's time. Mr. B. Hodgson, however, in his translations of the Nepalese accounts of the peopling the valley of Nepal, quotes the following:—"Sakya Sinha, [Buddha,] who was born at Kapila Vasta, [Oude,] accompanied by the Raja of Benares, 1350 bhikshu's, COUNSELLORS OF STATE, and a crowd of peasantry, made a pilgrimage to Nepal." J. A. S. B., vol. iii. p. 220. "*The counsellors*," made a class of society by Arrian, but not so distinguished by Buddha, were nevertheless, according to these Nepalese authorities, as ancient as Buddha's time; and as they accompanied him as a religious teacher, they would be Buddhists. Although Arrian makes a distinct class of counsellors, Nearchus, speaking of the sophists, says:—"Brachmanas in

civitatibus versari, et Reges sequi, et *eorum consiliarios* esse; cæteros vero quæ ad naturam pertinent contemplari; et ex his Calanum fuisse." Strabo, lib. 15. Now we know from all authorities, these gymnosophists, sophists, or miscalled Brahmans, from the *want of caste*, and from other causes, could not have been Brahmans; but as they conformed to a Buddhist state of society as priests and counsellors, they might have been Buddhists. I have stated that Arrian in his *Historiæ Indicæ*, never once mentions the name "Brahman," nor alludes to it; but in his *Anabasis*, in the mention of the Brahmans in Upper Scinde, who had occasioned the defection of some towns, he INCIDENTALLY says, they were the sophistæ of the Indians, and, consequently, constituting his first and most dignified class. It is now desirable to show that Arrian, and probably, from him, many other Western authors, may have mistaken the Sámáná of the Buddhists for the Báhmáná of the Hindus. Arrian makes the sophists or gymnosophists the sacerdotal class of Indian society, and they were constituted FROM ALL OTHER CLASSES OF INDIAN SOCIETY: ANY ONE WHO CHOSE MIGHT BE A SOPHIST; which goes the length of saying that an outcast might turn Brahman!! In the Hindu system, the Brahmans being sprung from the mouth of Brahma,—belonging to an exclusive body, into which it was impossible that any other part of the Indian population should enter or be received, who could neither eat nor drink with, nor even touch, their *fellow men* of a lower denomination without pollution,—it would surely not be necessary to proceed one step further to prove that Arrian's sophists, with sacerdotal habits and absence of caste, COULD NOT POSSIBLY HAVE BEEN BRAHMANS. But Arrian, and Fa hian, and others, supply additional facts, which strengthen the deduction, that the sophists or gymnosophists could not have been Brahmans, at least with their modern pretensions. The Brahmans are not known ever to have gone naked, like the sophists. The Brahmans are not known ever, with one exception, to have ascended the funeral pile alive, like Calanus and the Buddhist patriarch Ananda[1]; so far from it, their life was guarded by every conceivable religious and moral panoply that selfishness could invent, and superstition impress upon

[1] Turpe apud eos [the supposed Brahmans] putari corporis morbum: quem si quis veretur, seipsum igni e vita educit: nam constructo *rogo super eum perunctus sedet, et accendi jubens immotus comburitur!* Strabo, lib. 15. And shortly afterwards, he says, Calanus ascended the funeral pile *according to the law of his country.*

Διαλεχθῆναι δ' ἑνί τούτων Καλάνῳ ὃν καὶ συνακολουθῆσαιτῳ βασιλεῖ μέχρι Περσίδος, καὶ ἀποθανεῖν τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ τεθέντα ἐπὶ πυρκαϊαν· τότε δὲ ἐπὶ λίθῳ τυχεῖν κείμενον.

the minds of monarchs and nations; they guarded their lives, even against the wives of their bosom, by making it disgraceful and degrading for them not to rush into the flames which consumed the body of their deceased husbands; for which, however, there *is not any* authority in the Vedas. The Brahmans, in their modern arrogance and exclusiveness, cannot come into contact with their fellow-men of a lower caste than themselves, or partake of their hospitalities without pollution, much less, therefore, could they DINE with Greeks and foreigners as did the two sophists at Taxila, mentioned by Strabo on the authority of Aristobulus. *'Αριστόβουλος δὲ τῶν ἐν Ταξιλοις σοφιστῶν ἰδεῖν δύο φησὶ, Βραχμᾶνας ἀμφοτέρους, τὸν μὲν πρεσβύτερον ἐξυρημένον, τὸν δὲ νεώτερον κομητην, ἀμφοτέροις δ'ακολουθεῖν μαθητάς· παρερχομένους δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν 'Αλεξάνδρου τράπεζαν παραστάντας δειπνεῖν.*

One of these was *shaven*, the other *wore his hair*, and both followed Alexander for some time; indeed, the elder of the two, [Calanus?] continued with him, being clothed and fed. *Τὸν δὲ συναπᾶραι μέχρι τέλους, καὶ μεταμφιάσασθαι καὶ μεταθέσθαι τὴν δίαιταν, συνόντα τῳ βασιλει επιτιμώμενον δε ὑπό τινων λεγειν, ὡς ἐκπληρώσειε τα τετταρακοντα ἔτη της ασκήσεως ἁ ὑπέσχετο.* Strabo, lib. 15. And that there might be no mistake about this being the habit of the sophists at large, and that the miscalled Brahmans might take their food from anybody without pollution, Strabo says a little after, that they "investigated about nature, and foretelling of storms, droughts, and diseases; and entering into a city, dispersed themselves in the markets; and from whomsoever they met, bringing figs or grapes, they received gratuitously; and if oil, it was poured upon them, and they were anointed with it: and every rich house was open to them, even to the women's apartment, and when they entered, THEY SHARED IN THE MEAL and conversation." The hardiest maintainer of the identity of the gymnosophists and Brahmans will scarcely assert that a Brahman can partake of anybody's meal, or suffer himself to be greased by whomsoever pleases in the street.

Ἔφη δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τα περὶ φύσιν πολλὰ εξετάσαι, καὶ προσημασίαν ὄμβρων, αὐχμῶν, νόσων· ἀπιόντας δ' εἰς τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τὰς ἀγορὰς σκεδάννυσθαι· ὅτω δ' ἂν κομίζοντι σῦκα ἢ βότρυς περιτύχωσι, λαμβάνειν δωρεὰν περιέχοντος· ει δ' ἔλαιον εἴη, καταχεῖσθαι αὔτων καὶ αλείφεσθαι· ἅπασαν δὲ πλουσίαν οἰκίαν ἀνεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς μέχρι γυναικωνίτιδος· εἰσίοντας δὲ δείπνου κοινωνεῖν καὶ λόγων.

In addition to the preceding, Megasthenes says, as quoted by Strabo, *Οἷος ἦν καὶ ὁ Κάλανος ἀκόλαστος ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ταῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου τραπέζαις δεδουλωμένος*, that Calanus was a dependant at the table of Alexander, a position in which no Brahman could have remained; but from the following it will be observed, the objection would not hold good in case the sophists were Buddhists. A friend of mine, long resident in Burmah, tells me, that the Buddhist priests daily quit their monasteries before sunrise, with a begging pot at their breast, their heads being entirely shaven and uncovered, and they pass through the streets without looking to the right or to the left, [like the Samanero who met Sakya before he became Buddha,] and without saying a word. The laity piously disposed put food, *already cooked*, into the begging pot: when the priest has enough he goes to his monastery and eats his breakfast. Before twelve o'clock he proceeds as in the morning, and collects his dinner: after twelve o'clock he cannot eat. It is thus seen that the Buddhist priest eats from the hands of every man without pollution; and, like the miscalled Brahmans [sophists] of the Greeks, requires neither fire nor kitchen.

If it be objected that the gymnosophists submitted to painful penances like the modern Hindu Tapasvis, or Sanyasis, it will be recollected that Buddha himself gave them the example in sitting under his sacred tree [Ficus Indica] at Gaya, for *six years*, until life was nearly extinct, expiating his misdeeds, whatever they were, or propitiating the *Great First Cause.* And the ascetic Buddhist priest, described by Fa hian, who lived for *forty years* in his cave near the mountain of Security, in Ceylon, exhibits another type of the sophists; indeed, ascetism and eremitism, as well as monachism, were a part of Buddhism. If it be borne in mind also, that the Brahmans of Alexander's time, if they were a sacerdotal tribe at all, were commanded by the Vedas daily to take animal life, and use flesh in their sacrifices and bloody rites[1], a habit not interdicted until the NINTH CENTURY by Sankhara Acharya, the Saiva *reformer*, after the fall of Buddhism, and that the sophists and gymnosophists lived, by their own account, Buddhist-like, [*vide* Palladius de Bragmanibus,] entirely and exclusively upon fruits, grain, herbs, and water, and never took animal life,—Brahmans and sophists must be as wide as the poles asunder in their habits.

Saint Ambrosius, who writes on the location, doctrine, and manners of the Brahmans, [*Brachmani a nonnullis gymnosophistæ a*

[1] Vide Dr. Stevenson's Translations of Portions of the Rig Veda.

quibusdam philosophi seu sapientes Indorum appellantur,] says he had his account from the mouth of Bishop Musæus, who had travelled to India, China, the Punjab, and Affghanistan, *for the purpose of seeing Brahmans,* in the middle of the fourth century, A. D., and who saw Alexander's altars, nevertheless did not see a Brahman, "*Quædam ergo nova, non autem Brachmanos se vidisse affirmat;*" but Musæus conversed with Scholasticus, a Thebean, who went to India *viâ* the Red Sea, landing on the coast of Malabar and proceeding to Ceylon, who had seen Brahmans; and as he was seized by some petty chief and kept in servitude for six years, he learnt the native language, and may be supposed, therefore, to describe with sufficient means of accuracy. He says, "Quod genus Brachmanorum *non ex propria tantum voluntate sæcularibus rebus renuntiat*, sed potius ut ex judicio Dei pendens, ac divinitatis ope suffultum. Naturaliter enim *nudi* in finitimis fluvii regionibus vivunt. *Nulli apud eos quadrupedes, nullus terræ cultus, nullus ferri usus, nullum instrumenti genus quo fieri aliquod opus possit.* Habent autem illic deliciosas atque optimas auras, et saluberrime temperatas. COLUNT SEMPER DEUM, cujus veram quidem ac distinctam notitiam se habere profitentur, omnemque providentiæ ejus ac divinitatis rationem discernere. Jugiter orant, orantes vero non orientalem partem, unde oritur sol, aspiciunt; sed cœlum potius intuentur. Edunt autem ea quæ super terram pecudum more potuerint invenire, hoc est arborum folia, et olera sylvestria." He then says they live near the Ganges, and separate from their wives after the birth of a son; and adds "Hæc est ergo vita et conversatio Brachmanorum." We have here nearly the same description of the sophists, miscalled Brahmans, from the personal knowledge of a Christian bishop in the fourth century A.D., which Buddha gave in the sixth century B.C., of Buddhist priests, and Alexander's polytheist historians gave in the third century B.C. The so-called Brahmans of Ambrosius, therefore, could not have been Brahmans at all, because they emanated from society at large,—because they went naked,—because they were monotheists and not polytheists,—because they were entirely cut off from all secular occupations,—because they lived on water, and herbs, and grain, and did not offer animal sacrifices, [which the Brahmans did then and do now, formerly even partaking of the sacrifices,]—and because they led a sylvan and the Brahmans an urban life. A very few years after St. Ambrosius wrote from the personal testimony of Musæus, the worldly and secular habits of the Brahmans is attested by Fa hian, who had them on board ship with him, TRADING TO CHINA AS MERCHANTS!! The rest of

Ambrosius's account is compiled from different authors; but, singularly, there is no mention of any other philosophic or religious sect, but that which he calls Brahmanical. In one place he makes Dandamis say to Alexander, "Nos honoramus Deum, et amamus hominem, negligimus aurum, *contemnimus mortem.*" And further, he adds, "Amicus mihi est omnium Deus, et de ipsis cum eodem rebus loquor, malorum hominum verba non audio. Cœlum habeo pro tecto, terra mihi tota pro lecto est. Fluvii mihi potum ministrant, mensam silva suppeditat. *Non vescor animalium visceribus*, ut leones, neque intra pectora mea inclusæ quadrupedum aut volatilium carnes putrescunt, nec sum mortuorum sepulchrum, sed providentia naturalis omnes mihi fructus ut lac mater infundit." An anonymous author, quoted in the book of Palladius, relates a colloquy between Dandamis, called *king* of the Brahmans, and Alexander, and puts into the mouth of the former the substance, and almost the words, of the Buddhist decalogue. "Nil appetit amplius quam ratio naturæ flagitat; locus non præbetur invidiæ, *ubi nullus superior est:* nulla nos ludicra spectacula nec equina certamina, nec scenicas turpitudines affectamus; *sanguinis fluenta manantia abhorremus;* nullus apud nos incestus, nullum adulterium, nulla corruptio nominatur." "Non suscipit *Deus* sacra sanguinea. Cultum diligit incruentum, spernit funesta libamina verbo propitiatur orantibus." "In honorem divinum pecudes innocuas non mactamus;" and the following passage occurs in marked contrast to the habits of Fa hian's merchant Brahmans: "Nos mercandi gratia pontum classibus non sulcamus," &c., &c. And the following passages would seem to refer to the multitudinous Buddhist caves in India:—"Quin potius, in *defossis* telluris speluncis, aut concavis montium latebris capaciter habitamus." And "Tutius nos defendit ab imbre spelunca quam tegula." From the following passage it would appear they were not all entirely naked,—a fact which would remove the only objection to their being Buddhist priests:—"Nullus apud nos pretiosus amictus est, nulla vestis fucato colore contexitur. Membra papyri tegmine, vel quod est verius pudore velantur."

The mention by this author of theatrical representations is curious, as it is one of the ten chief interdicts of the Buddhists to witness scenic representations, while *Brahmans wrote plays.*

The Brahmans are now *polytheists*, and the best that can be said of them is, that they may anciently have worshipped the elements, while the sophists worshipped ONE GOD. When Calanus was persuaded by Alexander to abandon his companions, and follow him, the sophists censured Calanus, that he should prefer any other lord

to God:—"Ὅτι ἀπολιπὼν τὴν παρὰ σφισιν εὐδαιμονίαν, ὁ δὲ δεσπότιν ἄλλον ἢ τὸν Θεὸν ἐθεράπευε[1]:" and Dandamis, in his reply to Alexander, expressly says, God is the great king. He is my Lord[2], and SOLE GOD. Ἐμὸς οὗτος δεσποτης καὶ Θεος μονος. And several other authorities to the same effect can be quoted.

By torturing metaphysical obscurities and incongruities, *those who desire it* endeavour to fix upon the Buddhists a disbelief in the existence of God in heaven, or a soul in man; but such beliefs are utterly incompatible with the acknowledged belief of the majority of the people in Buddhist nations, in a future state of rewards and punishments,—of heavens and hells of various degrees, necessarily involving a belief in a Judge and Dispenser of these rewards and punishments,—of a belief in transmigration, with a power of obtaining a knowledge of the previous states of existence; thus establishing continued identity and consciousness. The very fact of the pious and bloodless annual sacrifices to the *manes* of deceased ancestors, establishes the belief in the existence of the soul after death. But because the Buddhists also believe that it is possible for an individual, [practically one in thousands of millions or billions,] by PERFECT VIRTUE and PERFECT KNOWLEDGE, to escape from further *transmigrations*, or probationary existence, and to attain NIBUTTI, or Nirwana, or *final emancipation*, or absorption into the First Cause, who is necessarily passionless and incapable of suffering, the Buddhists are stigmatized as atheists. Buddha's own hymn, on his becoming a Buddha, testifies to his belief in God:—

> Through various transmigrations
> I must travel if I do not discover,
> *The* BUILDER *whom I seek;*
> Painful are repeated transmigrations!
> I have seen the ARCHITECT, [and said,]
> Thou shalt not build me another house;
> Thy rafters are broken,
> Thy roof timbers scattered;
> My mind is detached [from all existing objects,]
> I have attained to the extinction of desire[3].

Who is the BUILDER he must discover, ere he can escape from mortal sufferings? Who the architect that builds up his frame anew through successive painful transmigrations, until by *perfect virtue* and *perfect knowledge* he discovers the builder, and escapes from the architect who keeps him in a probationary state? The requisite degree of virtue and knowledge being attained, he ceases to have

[1] Lib. vii. cap. 11. [2] Palladius de Gentibus Indiæ.
[3] Vide The Ceylon Friend, 1837 to 1839, p. 189.

sublunary feelings, desires, or sufferings,—has *final emancipation*,—loses personal identity, the *ΕΓΩ* ceases, and becomes incorporated with the First Cause! This may be startling to Christians, but it is not atheism.

In a sermon of Buddha's, he says, "On account of cleaving to existing objects, renewed existence (or *reproduction after death*) [occurs]; on account of reproduction of existence, birth; on account of birth,—decay, death, sorrow, crying, pain, disgust, and passionate discontent. But from the *cessation* of *ignorance*, is the cessation of consciousness, body and mind, sensation, reproduction, birth, sorrow, pain," &c. &c. Can it be that the propounder of these opinions was an atheist, and disbeliever in the existence of the soul? These notices of Buddha's doctrines are from translations from the Pali by the Rev. D. J. Gogerly in *The Friend*, and he elsewhere says, the Buddhists believe in *supernatural agency*, excepting the agency of an almighty, self-existent Being, the creator of all!

Buddha describes the Brahmans as filling secular offices only, between 543 to 600 B.C.; and Nearchus, quoted by Strabo, says the Brahmans followed kings, and from them their counsellors were chosen; others contemplated nature, and Calanus was one of these. Arrian mentions a *town* of Brahmans, and the inhabitants defending it pertinaciously, 325 B.C.; and Fa hian found them as merchants, taking goods to China for sale, in the ship in which he embarked, A.D. 412. We have them, therefore, through successive ages, proved to be engaged in secular and worldly pursuits. There being serious objections to the supposition that the sophists or gymnosophists were Brahmans, it remains to be shown what approximation there is between the sophists and the Buddhist priests. The Buddhist priests [Samana], like the sophists, could not engage in secular pursuits at all; they begged their simple daily food, and therefore ate out of everybody's hands without pollution or degradation, and could have dined with Alexander, like the sophists, without loss of caste; and the ascetic part lived on fruits, herbs, and water, like the sophists. They sprung from every class of society, like the sophists. Ananda, the Buddhist patriarch, like Calanus, ascended the funeral pile;—the Buddhists did not destroy animal life, like the sophists. In some of the Buddhist caves of Western India, personages, evidently of a sacred character, are sculptured entirely naked, as the gymnosophists are represented, and I have drawings of such figures[1]. Moreover, Clemens Alexandrinus, who makes a distinction between the Bahmana and the

[1] Vide Appendix.

Samana, calling the latter Semnoi, Σεμνοὶ, plainly the Buddhist priesthood, says that the Semnoi passed all their lives *naked;* and that there may be no mistake about whom he means, he says they had pyramids over the bones of some god which they worshipped. This is in fact the Buddhist chaitya containing relics. Clemens and Arrian were contemporaries; and there can be no doubt from Clemens' statement, that the gymnosophists of the latter, as both describe the same class, were the Samana or Buddhist priests. Clemens also mentions the Buddhist nuns, and called them Σεμναί. And finally, like the sophists, the Buddhists were not polytheists, but originally worshipped the First Cause, or Buddha, as God, and did not worship the elements. Does it admit of a question, therefore, to which of the two classes—Samana or Bahmana—the description of Arrian applies? It may be objected, that the very fact of Arrian's stating that no man could quit his own class, and go into another, excepting only the sophists,—drop his own trade, and take up that of another, —or marry out of his own class, involves proofs of the existence of the Brahmanical institution of castes. But setting aside the fact of the sacerdotal order being derived from all the classes, which is utterly impossible in the Brahmanical system; the distinction of castes, or professions, or grades of society, as it may be severally called, exists to this day without being considered a religious institution amongst the Buddhists of Ceylon and the Jains of India, who are schismatic offsets from Buddhism; and my authority with respect to the Jains, is a profound Orientalist, Col. Miles. Describing the Jains of Gujarat and Marwar, whose images of their saints are always represented naked, like the gymnosophists, he says, "The marriages are *confined to their respective classes;*" that is, the Visas intermarry with the Visas, and the Dassas with the Dassas, &c. &c.[1] And with respect to the Buddhists of Ceylon, *The Friend*, a Ceylon magazine, for December, 1838, has an article on caste, from which the following is an extract:—"There is this difference between Brahmanical and Buddhist caste, that the former is considered to be a divine ordinance, whilst the latter is regarded SIMPLY AS A CIVIL INSTITUTION. Indeed, strictly speaking, there is no Buddhistical caste, though there is caste amongst Buddhists. The priesthood may be conferred indiscriminately upon all classes [this is what Arrian says of the sophists]; and when the rite of ordination has been received, the son of the meanest outcast can demand equal honours with the scion of majesty. In actual

[1] Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. iii. p. 353.

practice, there have been too many innovations upon this wholesome appointment, and CASTE PREVAILS IN EVERY PART OF CEYLON [amongst the Buddhists], though not with the same severity as upon the coast of India. One single instance may suffice as an example. It is upon record, that in 1835, some of the schools in connexion with the Church Mission at Cotta were thrown into temporary embarrassment, for no other reason than because certain of the children, at their annual feast, drank coffee out of the same cup as some of their class-fellows of a lower caste, [that is to say, of a lower or different position in society?]" Arrian's sophists and Buddha's samanas might take a share of anybody's meal; but it is to be doubted whether the Buddhist Khettano would have dined with the Wessa, or the latter with the Sudda. Buchanan Hamilton, in his work on Mysore, mentions Brahman Jains; and the same fact is more than once met with in the Rev. W. Taylor's reports on the Mackenzie MSS.; and it is seen how often Fa hian has mentioned Brahman, and Vaisya, and Sudra Buddhists, and the four castes attending periodical Buddhist sermons and prayers in Ceylon 1429 years ago! Hence, no argument can be drawn from the marriage interdict mentioned by Arrian, that it was of a religious origin, and pertaining to castes; for caste, as a *religious distinction*, neither did nor does exist amongst Buddhists or Jains.

With respect to the interdict to the change of trades and occupations, it appears little more than the type of the system which has since prevailed in Europe in its guilds and corporations, for the same purpose,—that of insuring the utmost perfection in the manipulations of art: in the East by professions being handed down from father to son; and in the West, by none but the previously initiated or instructed being received into bodies whose specific object was the exclusive exercise of a particular trade or business.

Although it was impossible that the sophists or gymnosophists of Arrian could have been Brahmans, yet from his *casual* assertion to this effect, in his *Anabasis*, which has been already quoted, it is probable most of the Greek authors have adopted an error, which might very readily have originated in the principal authorities Arrian quotes,—Ptolemy and Aristobulus, mistaking Bahmana [Brahmans] for Samana [Buddhist priests], or Brahmana [Brahmans] for Sramana [Buddhist priests].

The interchange of the words involving the substitution of an initial letter only, might readily occur in modern times to those not thoroughly acquainted with Oriental languages; how much more likely, then, was it to occur to the Greeks, coming into Upper India

as utter strangers, and utterly ignorant of the language of the people amongst whom they penetrated in a hostile manner, and little likely to have lengthened familiar intercourse with them? But even in the cases of Strabo and Clemens, the former making a distinction between Brachmanes and Germanes, and the latter between Brachmanes and Semnoi, the descriptions of both classes are applicable to different orders of the Buddhist priesthood. So far we can say of Arrian, that he describes ONLY ONE SACERDOTAL CLASS IN INDIAN SOCIETY, AND THAT ONE CLASS COULD NOT POSSIBTY HAVE BEEN COMPOSED OF BRAHMANS; from the simple fact of its being constituted from all classes of society. His error, however, has fixed an impression upon the mind of the European world, which has led to the facile credence of Brahmanical pretension, and diverted the thoughts from all inquiries or investigations impugning their claims. This is instanced in a marked manner in a book in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, published in London, 1665, the year of the great plague, and called *Palladius de Gentibus Indiæ et Bragmanibus*, which opens with "*De Brachmanibus sive Gymnosophistis, testimonia Veterum;*" thus at once identifying the naked philosophers with the Brahmans. The following authors are quoted in the volume:— *Strabo*, died 25 B.C.; Cicero, born 106 B.C., died 43 B.C.; Plinius, born 23 A.D., died 79 A.D.; Plutarchus, died 120 A.D.; Arrianus, born about 124 A.D., died 161 A.D.; Apuleius, in the second century; Clemens, born 150 A.D., died 203 A.D.; Porphyrius, born 233 A.D., died 303 A.D.; Philostratus, in the end of the second century; Postellus, born 1505 A.D., died 1587 A.D.; Palladius, born 368 A.D., died 431 A.D.; Vossius, born 1577 A.D., died 1649 A.D.; Labbæus, born 1607 A.D., died 1667 A.D.; St. Ambrosius, born 340 A.D., died 397 A.D.; and an anonymous Latin author. The oldest writer of the whole of these is Cicero, who confines his notice to a few words, and says, "The sophists of India *are naked*, and bear the Caucasian snows of winter without complaint, aud *burn themselves* without a groan[1]." This is not a description to apply to Brahmans; but it applies to Calanus, who nevertheless is called a Brahman by Strabo, from the authority of Aristobulus; and it applies in part to the Buddhist patriarch Ananda, who burnt himself on an island in the Ganges. Cicero lived at a time, although five hundred years after Buddha, when Buddhism pervaded the length and the breadth of the land in India; and if he wrote from what was *then* known in the Western world respecting India, his description would probably be intended for the *Samana*, instead of the Bahmana.

[1] Tusc. Quæst. lib. v.

Strabo, who died B.C. 25, is the next author quoted, and his chief authority is Megasthenes, who tells most marvellous tales, and is proportionably in discredit. He says, the philosophers of India [he does not call them priests] were divided into two classes, the Brachmanes and the Germanes. Minute details are given of the Brahmans; but the details apply almost equally to the Buddhist priests, and *no mention* is made of the chief features of Puranic or modern Brahmanism, *i.e.* Polytheism, animal sacrifices, and caste exclusiveness. Indeed, the following passage would appear only to apply to that part of the Buddhist priesthood which educated its disciples or aspirants in a sacred grove [*αλσος*] or temple in a wood. One of the most celebrated of the Buddhist monasteries [Wiharo] was called "*of the vast solitude;*" and the life of Buddha shows how much it was his practice to teach in groves and woods as well as in monasteries. The Brahmans have, indeed, in modern times, their temples in groves and woods; but I am not aware that they have resident collegiate establishments for the instruction of disciples. *Διατρίβειν δὲ τους φιλοσόφους ἐν ἄλσει πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ὑπὸ περιβόλῳ συμμετρῳ λιτῶς ζῶντας ἐν στιβάσι καὶ δοραῖς, ἀπεχομένους ἐμψύχων καὶ ἀφροδισίων, ἀκροώμενους λόγων σπουδαίων, μεταδιδόντας καὶ τοῖς ἐθέλουσι.*

The above passage contains two other matters which separated the gymnosophists from the Brahmans. Those who became gymnosophists abandoned their wives and families, and all connexion with women ceased, and they abstained from everything having life,—the very habits of Buddhist priests; while Brahmans, as a class, are not known to have put away their wives from them, nor to have dissolved their domestic ties, and they were commanded to make animal sacrifices.

With respect to the *Germanes*, by which we can only understand the Buddhist sacerdotal order, Strabo [*i. e.* Megasthenes] says, those of them were the most honoured who were called Hylobii, [probably Arhan or Arahat, from the Pali *ari*, sinful passions, and *hattatta*, being destroyed?] thus showing a knowledge of the classes of the Buddhist priesthood. These Hylobii lived in the woods, subsisting on wild fruits and vegetables, with vestments from the bark of trees, and abstaining from wine and women. Kings consulted them through messengers, and by them *God* was worshipped and propitiated. This is applicable verbatim to the ascetic Buddhists,—the more particularly so, as *one God* only is spoken of. *Τοὺς δὲ Γερμᾶνας τους μὲν ἐντιμοτάτους Ὑλοβίους φησὶν ὀνομάζεσθαι, ζῶντας ἐν ταῖς ὕλαις ἀπὸ φύλλων καὶ καρπῶν ἀγρίων, ἐσθῆτος*

δὲ φλοιῶν δενδρίνων, ἀφροδισίων χωρὶς καὶ οἴνου· τοῖς δὲ βασιλεῦσι συνεῖναι δ' ἀγγέλων πυνθανομένοις περὶ τῶν αιτίων, καὶ δι' ἐκείνων θεραπεύουσι καὶ λιτανεύουσι τὸ Θεῖον . . [1]. Strabo also quotes Nearchus, which passage I have already given.

Pliny is the third author in order of time quoted. He died A.D. 79, nearly seven hundred years after the advent of Sakya, and at a time when the existence of the Grecian monarchies in Affghanistan, and probably in the Panjab, may be supposed to have made the Western world somewhat familiar with India. Nevertheless, he makes no mention of Brahmans, but says, "Philosophos eorum quos gymnosophistas vocant, ab ex-ortu ad occasum perstare contuentes solem immobilibus oculis; ferventibus arenis toto die alternis pedibus insistere[2]." These self-tormentors are, no doubt, Arrian's gymnosophists, derived from all classes of society, and consequently not Brahmans.

Plutarch is the next in order of time, and in the extract given he does not make any mention of Brahmans, but speaks simply of the gymnosophists; and the extract is made up of the occult questions put by the Greeks to the gymnosophists, and their ingenious answers. Calanus and Dandamis are mentioned[3], and God is spoken of in the singular number.

The fifth author quoted is Arrian, of whom I have already said enough.

Apuleius, who lived in the second century A.D., is the sixth author quoted in order of time. He states nothing about Brahmans, but says the wise men of India were called gymnosophists, who neither cultivated lands, possessed flocks, nor had to do with secular affairs. Wisdom ran through them, from the venerable master to the youngest disciples, all Buddhist characteristics; and he satisfactorily proves that they could not have been Brahmans, but belonging to a monastic fraternity, by saying, "Igitur ubi mensa posita, priusquam edulia apponantur, omnes adolescentes ex diversis locis et officiis ad dapem conveniunt," combined with "Qui nihil habet adferre cur prandeat, impransus ad opus foras extruditur[4]," evidently alluding to the *daily* collection of food by the monastic Buddhist priests, a duty which is imperative upon them. Apuleius

[1] The Brahman did not retire to the woods until he was a grandfather; and then took his wife with him, if she chose to go. Menu, chap. vi. verses 2 and 3. The Hylobii, therefore, could not have been Brahmans. Moreover the Brahman could never appear naked, and not even bathe without some covering. Menu, chap. iv. verses 45 and 75.

[2] Nat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 2.

[3] Plut. Vita Alexandri.

[4] Apuleius in Floridis.

is eloquent in praise of the gymnosophists, but has not a sentence which is not applicable to a class of the Buddhist priesthood; and there is reason to suppose that his gymnosophists were the Buddhist or Jain priests.

The seventh author quoted is Philostratus, who died at the end of the second century: he quotes Damis, who makes the Brahmans worship and sacrifice to the sun, and obtain their fire from it, like the modern Parsees; he adds, they [the Brahmans] wore long hair, with a white mitre upon their heads, [the Parsee priests wear a white turban at present,] and their vestments were in the Exomidum[1] form; they made the ground their bed, ate herbs, went barefoot, and each carried a staff and a ring, with which occult properties were associated. Philostratus evidently describes the magi of Persia, and I introduce his notice to show how very loose the ideas of the ancient Western writers were in regard to the Brahmans[2]. His description would apply more closely to the Buddhists than to the Brahmans, particularly as the magi did not take animal life, and believed in the transmigration of souls;—indeed, there are many marked features in common, in the religion of the magi, the Sabians [Semnoi, Samana?], and the Buddhists. The Buddhism of Sakya, in fact, without any great incongruity, might be looked upon as a reformation of the magism which *preceded* Zoroaster, [Sakya was prior to Zoroaster,] or of the still more ancient Sabaism.

The eighth author quoted in order of time is Clemens Alexandrinus, who, as he lived between A.D. 150 and 230 A.D., may be supposed to write from the accumulated knowledge of India resulting from its continued relations with the West. He quotes, however, not Ptolemy, Aristobulus, or Megasthenes; but Alexander Cornelius Polyhistor, who lived about 80 years B.C. He divides the wise men of the East into two classes,—the Brahmans and the Semnoi, which he says, means worthy of veneration [Samana]; and that there may be no mistake about whom he means by the latter, he says, they worship a pyramid, under which they suppose the *bones of some god* to be deposited,—the unquestionable chaitya or temple of the Buddhists. He says the Semnoi [Samana] pass their lives naked[3]; nor are those true gymnosophists nor true Semnoi who use women. He says, also, there was a class of females called Semnai,

[1] Εξωμις, a waistcoat without sleeves.

[2] Philostratus, Vita Apollonii, lib. iii. cap. 4 et 5.

[3] Buddhist or Jain figures, cut in the rock, and *entirely naked*, from thirty-five to seventy feet high, exist to this day in Kanara, and are represented in the 73rd and 74th plates of Moor's Hindu Pantheon.

precisely corresponding to the class of Buddhist nuns. The Semnoi observed the heavens, and predicted the future. There is not any mention of the Semnoi or the Brahmans living in the woods. The Brahmans, he says, neither drank wine nor ate animal food: some took food daily; others every third day only: they contemned death, and did nothing to live, believing in regeneration. Now all this applies rather to the Buddhist priests than the Brahmans; for the latter, in those early days, were great slaughterers of animals, at their sacrifices, and consumers of the sacrificial meat; although their caste [if they had any] would have disabled them from eating it from the hands of others, or at the table of Alexander[1]. There is one passage, however, of Clemens, which cannot apply to the Buddhists, for he says *some* of the Brahmans worshipped Hercules and Pan. I am not aware that any other Western authors than Clemens and Arrian mention this worship of Hercules at all; and Arrian does not say that the Brahmans worshipped him, but that the Indian people, called the Suraseni, did so, who had two large cities on the Jobares [Jumna?] called Methara and Klisobora. The former is plainly Mathura, but Klisobora is gone down the stream of time together with the knowledge of who its inhabitants the Suraseni were.

Ἡρακλέα δὲ, ὅντινα ἐς Ἰνδοὺς ἀφικέσθαι λόγος κατέχει παρ' αὐτοῖσιν Ἰνδοῖσι γεγενέα λέγεσθαι. Τοῦτον τὸν Ἡρακλέα μάλιστα προς Σουρασηνῶν γεραίρεσθαι, Ἰνδικοῦ ἔθνεος, ἵνα δύο πολιες μεγάλαι, Μέθορά τε καὶ Κλεισόβορα καὶ ποταμὸς Ἰωβάρης πλωτὸς διαῤῥεῖ τὴν χώρην αὐτῶν. Τὴν σκευὴν δὲ οὑτος ὁ Ἡρακλέης ἥντινα ἐφόρεε, Μεγασθένης λεγει ὅτι ὁμοίην τῷ Θηβαίῳ Ἡρακλεῖ, ὡς αὐτοὶ Ἰνδοὶ ἀπηγέονται· . . .[2].

It has been attempted to identify this Theban Hercules with Siva or Mahadeva of the Hindus, whose worship so extensively prevails at the present day; but setting aside Megasthenes' questionable authority about the Theban Hercules, even if his worship existed, it must have been on a limited scale, for Arrian says there were few records or memorials of him, no doubt alluding to his temples. Ἡρακλέους δὲ οὐ πολλὰ ὑπομνήματα[3]. If, therefore, there were few records or memorials of the Theban Hercules, converted by some into Siva, and that two cities only, of all India, are

[1] Menu says, a Brahman perishes by attendance on a king, chap. iii, verse 64; and he cannot accept a gift from *any king* not born a Kshatriya, chap. iv. verses 84 and 86.

[2] Arrian, Historiæ Indicæ, cap. viii.

[3] Historiæ Indicæ, cap. v.

mentioned as associated with the worship of the supposed Siva, it may be admitted, that the formidable superstition which is now grown to such a giant height, was in Alexander's [or Arrian's] time, only in an incipient state. But there are serious objections to this identity of the Theban Hercules with Siva. The worship of Hercules was never associated with that of the Phallus, the type of Siva; the exploits of the two gods have not any accordance, nor have their figures, nor costumes. Hercules is usually represented naked, [and no Brahmanical idol is ever represented naked,] resting on a club; or half naked with the skin of the Nemean lion round his loins; but originally he was represented with a spear and buckler. There are few figures of Siva, as his temples usually contain only the cylindrical stone called the linga [Phallus,] and I have never seen a figure of him with sword and buckler, or club; the trident is his weapon; his most ancient known form has three faces and four arms; he has a high cylindrical kind of cap upon his head, in the web of which the crescent moon and a skull are entangled; a third eye ornaments his forehead, and his dress is the Indian Dhotee. In one of his characters he has a necklace of skulls and the nag snake [Coluber nag] in his hand or about his person; the chief votaries at the temples of Siva are women, while into the temples of Hercules, [at least that at Gades,] women and pigs were not allowed to enter. Hercules, and Siva, and Brahmanism, therefore, have no apparent relation; the contrary is the case with respect to Buddhism. Hercules, impatient of disease, like Calanus, and Ananda the Buddhist patriarch, burnt himself on the funeral pile, and his friends, Buddhist like, raised altars to him on the spot where his cremation had taken place, and subsequently temples were dedicated to him and his worship became general. Buddhist like, he had a sacred tree, the white poplar; and Buddhist like, he was deified, because he was a pattern of virtue and piety. Here the parallelism ends, for the whole tenor of the life of Hercules was that of energetic action, while that of Buddha was contemplative repose; the one upheld virtue by the force of arms, the other by the power of reason.

If, however, the Greeks found a god worshipped by a few of the people of India, which God they thought had certain resemblances to the Theban Hercules, it is plain they did not find that worship associated with the worship of the Phallus; and if it were possible to convert this Hercules into Siva, then Siva's principal characteristic, the phallic worship, had not yet commenced; and the silence of

the Chinese travellers in India, and of Chinese authors down to the seventh century, A.D., on the subject, strengthens the inference[1].

Alexander Polyhister mentions, [and he is the only author who does so, I believe,] that some of the [miscalled] Brahmans worshipped Pan; but in the multitudinous idols of the Hindu pantheon, I do not think I ever read or heard of, and certainly never saw, a figure half man and half goat. He probably alludes to some rustic worship which has long ceased. The quotation from Clemens being short and important,—it is annexed.

Βραχμᾶναι γ' οὖν οὔτε ἔμψυχον ἐσθίουσιν, οὔτε οἶνον πίνουσιν· ἀλλὰ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, ὡς ἡμεῖς, τὴν τροφὴν προσίενται, ἔνιοι δ' αὐτῶν διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, ὥς φησιν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Πολυΐστωρ ἐν τοῖς Ἰνδικοῖς. καταφρονοῦσι δὲ θανάτου, καὶ παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγοῦνταί τὸ ζῆν· πείθονται γὰρ εἶναι παλιγγενεσίαν. οἱ δὲ σέβουσιν Ἡρακλέα καὶ Πᾶνα. οἱ καλούμενοι δὲ Σεμνοὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν γυμνοὶ διαιτῶνται τὸν πάντα βίον. οὗτοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀσκοῦσι, καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων προμήνευουσι, καὶ σέβουσί τινα πυραμίδα, ὑφ' ἣν ὀστέα τινος θεοῦ νομίζουσιν ἀποκεῖσθαι. οὔτε δὲ οἱ Γυμνοσοφισταὶ, οὔθ' οἱ λεγόμενοι Σεμνοὶ γυναιξὶ χρῶνται· παρὰ φύσιν γὰρ τούτο καὶ παράνομον δοκοῦσι· δι' ἣν αἰτίαν σφᾶς αὐτους ἁγνοὺς τηροῦσι· παρθενεύουσι δὲ καὶ αἱ Σέμναι· δοκοῦσι δὲ παρατηρεῖν τὰ οὐράνια, καὶ διὰ τῆς τούτων σημειώσεως τῶν μελλόντων προμαντεύεσθαί τινα[2].

The testimony of Clemens and Alexander Polyhister is of considerable importance, as it broadly states the fact of the *Semnoi, Samana,* or that *part* of the Buddhist priesthood so called, going naked all their lives, and thus leaving no doubt whom Arrian meant by his gymnosophists. The Semnoi worshipped relics, took a vow of chastity, and had societies of nuns; all Buddhist characteristics to this day.

The ninth author quoted is Porphyrius, who died A.D. 303. He wrote more than 900 years after the birth of Sakya, and at a time when the Brahmans, by the accounts of the Chinese, must have begun to operate upon the Buddhist religion, to effect its downfall, —an event which must from their rising influence have made the western nations more familiarly acquainted with their position,

[1] From the beginning to the end of the code of Menu, the name of Siva does *not once* occur; nor is there there the slightest allusion to his worship. The name of Vishnu occurs but twice, and then incidentally.

[2] Clemens Alexandrinus Stromat., lib. 3.

character, and philosophical opinions, than before; and Porphyrius, in consequence, is the only author who gives a lucid view of the position of the rival parties in India; quoting also Bardesenes, a Babylonian who had well known the *mission* from the Indian king Damadamis to *Cæsar*. He says, in many parts of India there are wise men whom the Greeks were accustomed to call gymnosophists. These *are* divided [he does not say *were*] into two parties, —Brachmanes constituting the one, and Samanæi the other. The Brachmanes have divine wisdom by succession or birth,—the Samanæi by adoption: the Brachmanes are all of one kind, and from *one father* and *one mother*, [in fact, a tribe or family, as the Chinese authors describe them,] πάντες γαρ Βραχμᾶνες ἑνός εἰσι γένους· ἐξ ἑνός γαρ πατρὸς καὶ μιᾶς μητρὸς παντες διάγουσι· the Samanæi, on the contrary, come from the whole races of Indians,—Σαμαναῖοι δέ οὐκ εἰσὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ τῶν 'Ινδῶν ἔθνους, ὡς ἔφαμεν, συνειλεγμένοι,—precisely as Buddha describes them.

The Brahmans lived independently, some on a mountain and some near the Ganges. It is plain, therefore, that as two localities are specifically designated, they were not dispersed over the rest of India in the fourth century[1]; and this corresponds with the testimony of the Chinese travellers, and justifies similar deductions from Arrian. Those of them who dwelt on the mountain, fed on wild fruits and the thickened milk of cattle[2]; those who were in the neighbourhood of the Ganges used a fruit which was abundantly produced upon the river, very probably meaning the nut of the lotus [Nelumbium speciosum]; rice also was used by them, when the lotus had failed. They esteemed it unclean and almost impious to take food from anything that had life: they piously and scrupulously worshipped *God*[3]; day and night offering prayers and hymns

[1] Menu, in fact, locates the Brahmans in the small tract between the rivers Saraswati and Dhrishadwati in the eastern limits of the Panjàb, and in the territory of Mutra and Kanouj, and says, "From a Brahman who was born in that country let all men on earth learn their several usages." Chap. ii. verses 17 to 22. The rest of Hindustan, south to the Vindhia mountains (Kandeish), was "inhabited by respectable men!"

[2] Thickened milk is in general use to this day, particularly with the Brahmans.

[3] Whatever may have been the Esoteric doctrines of the Brahmans, not only *now*, but in the fourth century, and at the period of the compilation of the code of Menu (whenever that may have been), the Brahmans *practically* were not only polytheists, but venerators of IDOLS, or IMAGES. Menu, chap. ii. verses 28, 176; chap. iii. verses 86, 164, 203, 205, 209, 211, 217; chap. iv. verses 21, 39, 124, 130, 152; and in many other places.

to the Gods: each lived in his own hut or location; they were often silent, and often fasted. There is no mention of their going naked, as Arrian and other authors state. Now, although this professes to describe the Brahmans, every sentence of it applies to the Arhans or Arahats of the Buddhist priesthood; and with the exception of the Brahmans living isolated, it applies to the *whole* Buddhist priesthood.

But admitting that the description of Porphyrius applies exclusively to the Brahmans, it proves that in the fourth century they were a tribe or family with Buddhist usages and confined to *a few localities*. There is not a word about their using temples, or having caste, or religious or moral exclusiveness. If it be objected that Porphyrius is not describing the Brahmans of his time, but uses the testimony of Bardesanes, who was acquainted with those Indians sent by the Indian king Damadamis to Cæsar, although it would carry this description of the Brahmans back three and a-half centuries, it would rather enhance the inferior relation in which they stood to the Buddhists,—for that was the very period when Buddhism was pervading the length and the breadth of the land, about two and a-half centuries after the edicts of Asoko, and about five and a-half centuries after the ministry of Buddha. Granting, however, that Porphyrius does describe Brahmans, and that the period of his description is the century before Christ, it proves that the *present* polytheism and habits of the Brahmans had THEN no existence; and the code of Menu, the Puranas, and other Sanskrit works inculcating polytheism, idolatry, animal sacrifices, and caste exclusiveness, if they existed at the time must have been disregarded.

Porphyrius goes on to describe the Samanæi. As he before said, they were from the people at large: having undergone the tonsure, they abandoned their wives and children, and all property, deeming everything superfluous but a stole or gown for the person: they lived in colleges [or monasteries?] built outside the walls of cities and towns for them by the kings, who also constructed *temples*[1], and supported their wives and children. There they spent the day in divine or holy colloquies, living on rice, bread, fruits, and herbs, which they received from the king. Being assembled in their house [monastery?], at the sound of a bell they poured forth their prayers; which finished, each had a platter brought to him [for no two could eat out of the same dish], and he partook of rice, varied, if required, with pot-herbs and fruits. This description of the manners and habits of the Buddhist priests by Porphyrius [*applicable at the present day*], is almost in the identical language of Fa hian,

[1] Τεμενος, a consecrated ground; and οικος, a house, temple, or palace.

and gives more than ordinary value to the Chinese traveller's testimony; for Porphyrius apparently writes from his knowledge of *the then* existing state of things [in the third century],—a supposition strengthened by the fact of himself and Fa hian omitting to mention the Brahmans or Buddhists having the characteristic feature of the sophists of Arrian's authorities, namely, "*going naked,*"—a custom which, in the course of six or seven hundred years from Alexander's time [or nine hundred years from Sakya's time] might have fallen into disuse.

Porphyrius goes on to say that the Samanæi and the Brahmans were held in such veneration, that kings supplicated their prayers and consulted them in most things. They despised life, and courted death; so much so, that they were unwilling to take proper nourishment, as if to hasten the separation of the soul from the body; and frequently in the enjoyment of good, and no evil pressing, they gave up life. Indeed, some threw their bodies into the fire[1],—[Calanus and Ananda like,]—to separate the soul in its purest state: those who lived they deplored; those who died they deemed happy, because *they had received* IMMORTALITY! Here is no mention of the stigma of atheism which some writers have endeavoured to fix upon the Buddhists; so far from it, the belief in God and the immortality of the soul, by both Buddhists and Brahmans, is distinctly enunciated[2].

The whole passage from Porphyrius is so specific, perspicuous, and comprehensive, drawing so lively and natural a picture of what the ancient Buddhist clergy were, and what they are to this day,—a picture, also, of what the Brahmans *may have* been, but which we know they *are* not,—that it might be supposed the passage as far as the Buddhists are concerned was of our own day, rather than of fifteen centuries' date. It may be acceptable to many that the original should be given, to enable a critic [which I am not, my difficulties being solved by the Latin translation,] to make his own version; it is therefore appended[3].

[1] This was a Buddhist and not a Brahman practice. It is not spoken of in the Code of Menu.

[2] Porphyrius de Abstinentia, lib. iv.

[3] Ἰνδῶν πολιτείας εἰς πολλὰ νενεμημένης ἐστί τι γένος παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ τῶν θεοσόφων, οὓς Γυμνοσοφιστὰς καλεῖν εἰώθασιν Ἕλληνες· τούτων δὲ δύο αἱρέσεις, ὧν τῆς μὲν Βραχμᾶνες προΐστανται, τῆς δὲ Σαμαναῖοι. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Βραχμᾶνες ἐκ γένους διαδέχονται ὥσπερ ἱερατείαν, τὴν τοιαύτην θεοσοφίαν· Σαμαναῖοι δὲ λογάδες εἰσὶν κἀκ τῶν βουληθέντων θεοσοφεῖν συμπληρούμενοι. ἔχει δὲ τὰ κατ' αὐτους τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, ὡς Βαρδησάνης, ἀνὴρ Βαβυλώνιος ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων

Although Porphyrius derived his information from a different source than that from which Clemens derived his, and though the latter is short in his description, the accordance between these authors is so marked, that there can be little doubt, from the discri-

ἡμων γεγονὼς, καὶ ἐντυχὼν τοῖς περὶ Δαμάδαμιν πεπεμμένοις πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα, ἀνέγραψεν· πάντες γὰρ Βραχμᾶνες ἑνός εἰσι γένους· ἐξ ἑνὸς γὰρ πατρὸς καὶ μιᾶς μητρὸς πάντες διάγουσι. Σαμαναῖοι δὲ οὐκ εἰσί τοῦ γένους αυτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἔθνους, ὡς ἔφαμεν, συνειλεγμένοι· οὔτε δὲ βασιλεύεται Βραχμὰν, οὔτε συντελεῖ τι τοῖς ἄλλοις· τούτων δὲ οἱ φιλόσοφοι, οἱ μὲν ὄρει, οἰκοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ περὶ Γάγγην ποταμόν· σίτοῦνται δὲ οἱ μὲν ὄρειοι τήν τε ὀπώραν, καὶ γάλα βόεινον ποτάναις παγὲν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Γάγγην ἐκ τῆς ὀπώρας, ἥ πολλὴ περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν γεννᾶται, φέρει δὲ ἡ γῆ σχεδὸν καρπὸν ἀεὶ νέον, καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὴν ὄρυζαν πολλήν τε καὶ αὐτόματον, ᾧ χρῶνται ὅταν τὸ τῆς ὀπώρας ἐπιλείπῃ. τὸ δὲ ἄλλου τινὸς ἅψασθαι, ἤ ὅλως θίγειν ἐμψύχου τροφῆς, ἴσον καὶ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ τε καὶ ἀσεβείᾳ νενόμισται. καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῖς τὸ δόγμα. θρησκεύουσί τε τὸ Θεῖον, καὶ εὐσεβοῦσι περὶ αὐτὸ καθορώνται· τόν τοινὺν χρόνον τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς τὸ πλεῖστον εἰς ὕμνους τῶν Θεῷν ἀπένειμαν καὶ ψυχὰς, ἑκάστου ἰδίαν καλύβην ἔχοντος, καὶ ὡς ἐνί μάλιστα ἰδιάζοντος· κοινῇ γὰρ Βραχμᾶνες μένειν οὐκ ἀνέχονται· ἀλλ' ὅταν τοῦτο συμβῇ, αναχωρήσαντες ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας οὐ φθέγγονται· πολλάκις δὲ νηστεύουσι·

Σαμαναῖοι δέ εἰσι μὲν, ὡς ἔφαμεν, λογαδες. ὅταν δὲ μελλει εἰς τὸ τάγμα τις εγγράφεσθαι ἄρχεσθαι, πρόσεισι τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῆς πόλεως, ἤ τῆς κώμης, καὶ τῶν κτημάτων ἐξίσταταὶ, καὶ πάσης τῆς ἄλλης οὐσίας· ξυράμενος δὲ τοῦ σώματος τὰ περιττὰ λαμβάνει στολὴν, ἄπεισί τε πρὸς Σαμαναίους, οὔτε πρὸς γυναῖκα οὔτε πρὸς τέκνα, εἰ τύχοι κεκτημένος, ἐπῖστροφὴν ἤ τινα λόγον ἔτι ποίουμενος, ἤ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅλως νομίζων. καὶ τῶν μὲν τέκνων ὁ βασιλεὺς κήδεται, ὅπως ἔχωσι τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς οἱ οἰκεῖοι. ὁ δὲ βίος τοῖς Σαμαναίοις ἐστι τοιοῦτος. Ἔξω τῆς πόλεως διατρίβουσι διημερεύοντες ἐν τοῖς περὶ τοῦ θείου λόγοις. ἔχουσι δὲ οἴκους καὶ τεμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως οἰκοδομηθέντα, ἐν οἷς οἰκονόμοι εἰσὶν, ἀπότακτόν τι λαμβάνοντες παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τροφὴν τῶν συνιόντων. ἡ δὲ παρασκευὴ γίνεται ὀρύζης, καὶ ἄρτων, καὶ ὀπώρας, καὶ λαχάνων. καὶ εἰσελθόντων εἰς τὸν οἶκον ὑποσημαίνοντι κώδωνι οἱ μὴ Σαμαναῖοι ἐξίασιν, οἱ δὲ προσεύχονται. εὐξαμένων δὲ πάλιν διακωδωνίζειν, καὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται ἑκάστῳ τρυβλίον δόντες (δύο γὰρ ἐκ ταυτοῦ οὐκ ἐσθιουσι) τρέφοντες αὐτους τῇ ὀρύζῃ· τῷ δὲ δεομένῳ ποικιλίας προσίθεται τὸ λάχανον ἤ τῆς ὀπώρας τι. τραφέντες δὲ συντόμως ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτὰς διατριβὰς ἐξίασιν. ἀγύναιοι δέ εἰσι πάντες, καὶ ἀκτήμονες. καὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν Βραχμάνων σέβας ἔχουσιν οἱ ἄλλοι, ὥστε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἀφικνεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτους καὶ ἱκετεύειν εὔξασθαί τι καὶ δεηθῆναι ὑπὲρ τῶν καταλαμβανόντων τὴν χώραν, ἤ συμβουλευσαι τὸ πρακτέον. αὐτοὶ δὲ οὕτως πρὸς θάνατον διάκεινται, ὡς τὸν μὲν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον, ὥσπερ ἀναγκαίαν τινα τῇ φύσει λειτουργίαν, ἀκουσίως ὑπομένειν, σπεύδειν δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπολύσαι τῶν σωμάτων· καὶ πολλάκις ὅταν εὖ ἔχειν σκέψωνται, μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπειγοντος κακοῦ μηδὲ ἐξελαύνοντος, ἐξίασι τοῦ βίου, προειπόντες, μέντοι τοῖς ἄλλοις, καὶ ἐστὶν οὐδεὶς ὁ κωλύσων· ἀλλὰ πάντες αὐτους εὐδαιμονίζοντες πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους τῶν τεθνηκότων ἐπισκήπτουσί τινα. οὕτους βεβαίαν καὶ ἀληθεστατῆν αὐτοί τε καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὴν μετ' ἀλλήλων εἶναι δίαιταν πεπιστεύκασι. οἱ δ' ἐπειδὰν ὑπακούσωσι τῶν ἐντεταλμένων αὐτοῖς, πυρὶ τὸ σῶμα παραδόντες, ὅπως δὲ καθαρωτάτην ἀποκρίνωσι τοῦ

mination manifested in their accounts, that they wrote from a more thorough knowledge of India than Arrian possessed,—a knowledge possibly acquired subsequently to Arrian's death; yet, as he died only sixty-nine years before Clemens, it might have been expected that he would have been nearly as well acquainted with the state of Indian society in his time, as Clemens was in his, particularly as Arrian's office of governor of Cappadocia in Asia Minor gave him facilities for knowing travellers both of foreign countries and his own.

The next Greek writer in order of time is Palladius Galata, who was a bishop of Helenopolis in Bithynia, and afterwards of Aspasia in Galatia. He died A.D. 431. He styles his book *ΤΟΥ ΠΑΛΛΑΔΙΟΥ περὶ τῶν τῆς Ἰνδιας ἐθνῷν καὶ τῶν Βραγμάνων*. He set out for India in company with his friend Moses, bishop of the Adulitæ; but finding the heat too great for him, he returned. These travels, combined with a similar journey of Bishop Musæus, mentioned by St. Ambrose, are of importance, as they indicate that journeys into India at this early period, by learned Christians, were not uncommon: indeed, Cosmas, in the sixth century, A.D. 522, found Christian churches in most of the cities of note in India; and the writers of the early centuries after Christ may, therefore, describe the existing state of society in India, from personal knowledge, or the testimony of their friends, independently of the ancient authorities, in case they quote them. This observation applies to Arrian, Apuleius, Clemens, Porphyrius, Palladius, and St. Ambrose. Palladius is very diffuse and minute; introducing a lengthened philosophical dialogue between Alexander and Dandamis, a supposed Brahman teacher. He does not mention his authorities for these dialogues; but the names of Onesicrates and Calanus are frequently introduced as speakers.

Admitting that Palladius quotes from ancient authorities, he quotes, also, the authority of a contemporary of his own, who had travelled into India, and been a prisoner there for years; and if the testimony of the latter, with respect to the opinions and habits of the supposed Brahmans, had differed from that of Ptolemy or Aristobulus, the discrepancy would have been noticed by Palladius.

The contemporary authority of Palladius is Scholasticus, a Thebean, who, having no taste for the bar, set out in company with an elder of the Christian church [πρεσβῦτης], by way of the Red

σώματος τὴν ψυχὴν, ὑμνούμενοι τελευτῶσι. ῥᾶον γὰρ ἐκείνους εἰς τὸν θάνατον οἱ φίλτατοι ἀποπέμπουσιν, ἤ τῶν ἄλλων ἄνθρώπων ἕκαστοι τοὺς πολίτας εἰς μηκίσας ἀποδημίας. καὶ σφᾶς μὲν αὐτοὺς δακρύουσιν ἐν τῷ ζῆν διαμείναντας, ἐκείνους δὲ μακαρίζουσι τὴν ἀθάνατον λῆξιν ἀπολαμβάνοντας.

Sea, to survey India. He landed possibly at Aden [Ἀδολῆν], or at Adulis[1], the sea-port of Axum, subsequently at Muziris[2] on the Malabar coast, and then reached Ceylon [Ταπροβάνη], which was then the seat of the chief of the kings of India, whom the others obeyed as satraps; so Scholasticus was told by others, as he was not permitted to pass into the island, but was kept a prisoner for six years, labouring in the pepper districts of Malabar. The king who detained him, however, quarrelling with the paramount sovereign residing in Ceylon,—*μέγαν βασιλέα, τὸν ἐν τῇ Ταβροβάνῃ νήσῳ καθεζόμενον*,—he was released.

The two kings of Ceylon whose reigns embrace the whole period in which the visit of Scholasticus was probably made, were Buddha Dásá and Upotassá the Second, both of them monarchs very celebrated for their piety, according to the *Mahawanso;* but it is doubtful whether they had any political dominion on the continent of India. But as Fa hian says that all the kings of India about this period were Buddhists, Scholasticus may mean that the influence of the king of Ceylon was rather of a spiritual, than of a political or secular character; or simply, that he was the most rich and powerful of the numerous petty kings of India of the time and the others in consequence looked up to him; and this would seem to be the most likely, not only from Fa hian's notices respecting the wealth and magnificence he saw in Ceylon, but from Cosmas Indicopleustes stating, that in his time, between A.D. 522 to 547, Ceylon was the emporium of the trade between China and the Persian and Arabian Gulfs,—the silks of China, and the precious spices of the Eastern Islands, being dispersed from Ceylon through India and Western Asia. This is in thorough accordance with Fa hian's testimony about 110 years before, whose feelings were so much awakened by observing the offering of a China silk fan in the temple of Buddha; and it will be recollected that he embarked in a large vessel with Brahman merchants bound direct for China.

There can be no doubt of the route of Scholasticus; for, independently of his going down the Red Sea, he mentions the thousand islands of the Maldives, which he calls Μανιόλης, lying between the Red Sea and Ceylon; and his description of the climate and productions of Ceylon, satisfy us of the general correctness of the information he had received. The inhabitants lived upon milk, rice, and fruits: they had neither wool nor linen vestments; but used the skins

1 The modern Massuah on the coast of Abyssinia.

2 Supposed to be the present Mirjee, about eighty miles S. S. E. of Goa.

of sheep prettily worked, wrapped round their loins. This is precisely the mode of dress, naked from the waist upwards, in which the Buddhists are represented in their sculptures, as may be seen in the Museum at the India House. The better classes, however, no doubt used cotton and silk garments, and the observation of Scholasticus must apply to the lower orders. He mentions the sheep having broad tails [Dumbahs]. But it is not necessary to go further in proof that Scholasticus visited the countries and people he describes. And yet, travelling in India probably not a dozen years before Fa hian was there, he gives to the Brahmans the chief characteristics of the Buddhist priests; and he commences, too, with the most marked feature which distinguishes Brahmans from Sramans, namely, "The [*supposed*] Brahmans do not renounce CIVIL society after the manner of monks, from their own proper will, but by a divine impress." Now monachism never has been, nor is, a feature of Brahmanism; but always was, and is still, a feature of Buddhism. The expression, also, CIVIL society, must not be overlooked, as it clearly alludes to the fact of the clergy being constituted from all classes of the community; and if the passage can be construed to apply to Brahmans, then were they laymen until the divine impress came upon them. He speaks of the Brahmans going naked; of their not using any animals, or engaging in any kind of labour whatever, whether of necessity or luxury, rustic or urban; of their neither using fire nor wine, or making bread. [It has been already said, that the Buddhist priesthood do not cook for themselves; but subsist on food ready cooked, for which they beg daily.] They have a delightful, serene, and agreeable sky, [meaning that they did not live in villages, as was the practice of the Brahmans in their *Agraharums*.] They worship GOD; and whatever their knowledge may be, they never use it to question the judgment of Providence. They are always engaged in prayer; and though they turn towards that part of the heavens where light springs up, it is without reference to the rising sun. They live upon such herbs, nuts, fruits and water, as come in their way, and upon whatever the earth produces spontaneously. These people are located on the Ganges, which has its exit in the sea. A few years after the time of Scholasticus's visit, Fa hian went down the Ganges to the Sea; and found its banks teeming with Buddhist priests and Buddhist monasteries, and there is scarcely mention of Brahmans or their temples. The description can only be accounted for by supposing that Scholasticus, like others before him, had mistaken Brahman for Sraman, or that the Brahmans of those days had Buddhist

practices[1]. Admitting that Scholasticus does describe Brahmans, it is at least certain from his personal knowledge, that in the fourth century they had *not spread over all India;* and this is precisely what the Chinese travellers assert.

He goes on to say, that the wives of the [*supposed*] Brahmans did not live with them, but apparently more to the north; and that the husbands visited their wives in the months of July and August, and remained with them forty days; but after the birth of two male children, they did not go near their wives again. Brahmans never separated from their wives, excepting in the Sanyasi state; and Scholasticus probably refers to the total separation of the Buddhist priests from their wives, the instant they enter the priesthood; and he mistakes, with respect to their coming together again, which the Sanyasis were equally debarred from doing. Palladius finishes by saying, "Such is the polity of the Brahmans,"—*Αὕτη τῶν Βραγμάνων εἰσιν ἡ πολιτεία.* There is not a syllable about the distinction between Brahmans and Buddhists; not a syllable respecting caste or polytheism; nor a syllable respecting "Sati," the "Agnihotra," or imperative animal sacrifices; in fact, his description does not apply to *Puranic* Brahmans at all.

Palladius then gives marvellous mention of the animal in the rivers capable of swallowing an elephant; of the seventy-cubit dragons, and of the gigantic scorpions and ants; derived apparently from the veracious Megasthenes. He concludes by saying [to the friend for whom the account is written,] add this journal of mine to the copy of Arrian which I before sent to you, and read both with care and diligence.

[1] *Ἔλεγεν οὖν οὗτος, ὅτι οἱ Βραγμάνες ἔθνος εἰσὶν οὐκ ἀποτασσόμενον ἀπὸ προαιρέσεως, ὡς οἱ μοναχοὶ, ἀλλὰ λαχόντα τὸν κλῆρον τοῦτον ἄνωθεν, καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ κριμάτων· τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ παροικίαν, φυσικῶς ἐν γυμνότητι διαζῶντες· παρ' οἷς οὐδὲν τετράποδον ὑπάρχει, οὐ γεώργιον, οὐ σίδηρος, οὐκ οἰκοδομὴ, οὐ πῦρ, οὐκ ἄρτος, οὐκ οἶνος, οὐχ ἱμάτιον, οὐκ ἄλλο τὶ τῶν εἰς ἐργασίαν συντελούντων, ἢ ἀπόλαυσιν συντεινόντων. Ἔχουσι δὲ ἀέρα λιγυρόν τε, καὶ εὔκρατον, καὶ πάνυ κάλλιστον, σεβόμενοι τὸν Θεὸν, καὶ γνῶσιν μὲν ἔχοντες, οὐκ οὕτως δὲ λεπτὴν, μήτε δὲ διευκρίνειν οὕτω τοὺς τῆς προνοίας λόγους δυνάμενοι, ὅμως εὔχονται ἀδιαλείπτως· εὐχόμενοι δὲ, ἀντὶ τῆς ἀνατολῆς, τῷ οὐρανῷ ἀτενίζουσι, τῇ τρόπῃ τῆς ἀνατολῆς οὐ προσέχοντες. Ἐσθίουσι δὲ τὰ παρατυγχάνοντα ἀκρόδρυα, καὶ λαχάνων τὰ ἄγρια, ὅσα ἡ γῆ ἐκφύει αὐτομάτως· καὶ ὕδωρ πίνουσι, νομάδες ὄντες ἐν ὕλαις, ἐπὶ φύλλοις ἀναπαυόμενοι· παρ' αὐτοῖς δὲ πολὺ τὸ Περσεεινὸν ξύλον, καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον ἀκανθαῖνὸν, καὶ τινα ἕτερα καρποφώρα, ἀφ' ὧν ἀποζῶσι. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες εἰς τὸ μέρος τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ ἐκεῖθεν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Γάγγου παροικοῦσιν· οὗτος γὰρ ὁ ποταμὸς εἰς τὸν ὠκεανὸν εἰσβάλλει· αἱ δὲ γυναίκες αὐτῶν εἰσὶν τοῦ Γάγγου, ἐπὶ τὸ μέρος τὸ τῆς Ινδίας.*—Palladius de Bragmanibus, pp. 7, 8, 9.

Then follow the imaginary dialogues between certain Brahmans and Alexander; for I presume they are concocted [whether by Palladius or not I do not know,] from the knowledge then extant of the habits and opinions of the Brahmans. The supposed Brahmans abuse Calanus, who followed Alexander, and favour the mighty conqueror with a lecture on his ambition, and then give the same account of themselves which is given by most of the Western authors; namely, that they admired the sky and the woods, the rustling of leaves, and the sweet song of birds; that they ate herbs and fruit, and drank water, &c., &c., and that they sung hymns to God, and *coveted the future.*

Θεῷ ὕμνους ᾄδομεν, καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἐπιθυμοῦμεν, οὐδενὸς μὴ ὠφελοῦντος ἀκοῦομεν· τοιαῦτα βραγμάνες ζῶμεν.

And in a subsequent part of the intercourse between Alexander and Dandamis, when Onesicrates is sent to him by Alexander to tell him the son of Jove demands his presence,—with the offer of gifts if he comes, and the loss of his head if he refuses,—Dandamis replies, "God the great king occasions no injury to man; but gives him light, peace, life, a human body and a SOUL [ψυχη], and God was his *Lord and sole God,*" meaning that he desired no other master. Moreover, he tells Alexander HE was no god, for he was subject to death. The supposed Brahmans thus pronounced themselves, certainly not Puranic Brahmans, slaves to polytheism, and celebrators of animal sacrifices!

My limits do not admit of further quotations from the lengthened dialogues, which are certainly curious and interesting; for if not genuine, they at least picture the opinions of Palladius, and probably his contemporaries, with respect to the religion and manners of the supposed Brahmans.

The facts quoted from the preceding authors would appear to have been collected by Palladius; and the next authority in the volume is St. Ambrosius, who addresses his account to Palladius himself, although he died thirty-four years before him. The one resided in Cappadocia, the other in Italy,—the one wrote in Greek, the other in Latin,—but they were evidently well acquainted with each other. I have already mentioned that St. Ambrose received his information from his friend Bishop Musæus, who had travelled into China and India, *but did not see a Brahman;* the latter, however, heard something about Brahmans from Scholasticus the Thebean, [Hæc sunt quæ a Thebæo Scholastico de Brachmanis audivisse se affirmat Musæus,] who had been a prisoner in India, and this he details to St. Ambrose.

St. Ambrose died within two years of Fa hian's arrival in India, when we have his positive testimony that Buddhism, although long declining, was still immeasurably the prevailing religion in India; nevertheless, St. Ambrose, although his friend Bishop Musæus *had not met with a Brahman* in India, says, "Brachmani a nonnullis gymnosophistæ, a quibusdam philosophi, seu sapientes Indorum appellantur," testifying to the almost certain indelible impress of first impressions [whether true or false].

Musæus, after seeing the altars of Alexander, with the inscription, "Ego Alexander huc perveni," from his accounts must have got into the deserts between the Indus and Ganges. The heat and want of water frightened the worthy bishop from the prosecution of his travels, and he made the best of his way to the westward again. But St. Ambrosius also looked into Megasthenes; for he mentions the seventy-cubit dragons, the ants a span, and the scorpions a foot and a half long; and very naïvely adds, "Propter quæ monstra periculosus est ipsorum transitus locorum!" St. Ambrose makes no mention of polytheism, animal sacrifices, or caste, amongst the supposed Brahmans; but he makes them say of themselves,—"Nudo sub aëre arborum foliis nostra corpora contegimus, eorumque fructibus vescimur, aquam bibimus, *hymnos* DEO *canimus*; et futuri sæculi vitam desideramus:" and elsewhere one of the Brahmans says, "Amicus mihi est omnium *Deus*," and "Nihil est quod *Deum* latere possit:" in fact, there is not anywhere the slightest allusion to a plurality of gods; and St. Ambrose must have believed that the prejudices of caste did not exist amongst them; for Alexander is made to offer to Dandamis [Magister Brachmanorum,] after a colloquy, "Diversasque vestes cum oleo ac *panibus* obtulerunt.[1]" In short, the Brahmans of St. Ambrosius were capital good Buddhists.

The last quotation in the volume is from an anonymous Latin author, who gives certain dialogues between Alexander the Great, king of the Macedonians, and Dindimi, king of the Brahmans. There is nothing in these dialogues that militates against the previous quotations; and if Dindimi were a Brahman, he was neither a polytheist, offerer of animal sacrifices, or a slave to the pride of caste; for he says, "Locus non præbetur invidiæ, ubi nullus superior est[2]." But I have previously made sufficient use of the anony-

[1] Menu says, "The Brahman eats *but his own food*, wears but his own apparel, and bestows but his own in alms: through the benevolence of the Brahman, indeed, other *mortals enjoy life!*" Page 14.

[2] The student must consider a Brahman, though but ten years old, and a

mous author. The comparatively modern writers, Postellus, Vossius, and Labbæus, are merely introduced by the editor of Palladius, as authorities, with respect to his life and character. Palladius does not quote Quintus Curtius nor Diodorus.

A digest of the testimony of the preceding ancient authors would appear to involve the following conclusions:—That the supposed Brahmans, for the most part, went naked,—underwent the tonsure,—worshipped one God,—were free from the bondage of caste, and could eat from any man's hand,—never engaged in secular affairs,—abstained from animal sacrifices and animal food, and never destroyed animal life,—were remarkable for their self-denial and penances, living upon fruits, grain, vegetables, and water,—abandoned their wives and children, and abstained from women,—dwelt in sylvan places or in caves,—and it was the custom of their country for those afflicted with disease to burn themselves on the funeral pile,—and, finally, not one of the many names of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, ever occurs, or even a trace of them! Every syllable of these deductions applies to the different orders of the Buddhist or Jain priesthood, and *does not apply* to modern Brahmans, with such exceptions only as are consequent on the CHANGE WHICH HAS TAKEN PLACE IN THEIR HABITS; for although now generally abstaining from animal food, or taking animal life, they were anciently *commanded* in the Rig Veda, that at each of the three daily sacrifices an animal should be slain and eaten; and the putting these commands into abeyance, did not take place until after the decline of Buddhism[1]. It will be said probably that the gymnosophists were the Hindu Sanyasis, some of whom go naked, and are absolved from the restraints of caste; but the Sanyasis wear their

Kshatrya, though aged a hundred years, as father and son: between those two, the young Brahman is to be respected as the father! "Among all those, if they be met at one time, the priest (Brahman), just returned home, and the prince, are most to be honoured; and of those two the priest just returned should be treated with more respect than the prince."—Menu, chap. ii. verses 130 and 139. "A learned Brahman, having found a treasure formerly hidden, may take it without any deduction, SINCE HE IS THE LORD OF ALL!!"—Menu, chap. viii. verse 37. So much for "Ubi nullus superior est."

[1] The Rev. Mr. Stevenson, who translated portions of the Sama and Rig Vedas, says, the commands of the Vedas were abrogated by Narida, who interdicted animal sacrifices; but at the entreaty of the Brahmans, they were retained in the Agni hotra, or oblation to fire. But the sacrifice of the Cow, sacred as is the animal NOW, is proved to demonstration in the Matsya Purana, which work Professor Wilson considers to date after the twelfth century; and the Rig Veda gives the form of hymn to be chanted at the SACRIFICE OF A COW!

long hair bound round the head; while the elder sophists were *shaven* like Buddhist priests[1]: the Sanyasis cover their bodies with ashes, which the sophists are not represented to have done; and neither the habit of wearing the hair, nor using ashes, is a modern innovation, for Hiuan thsang found these customs prevailing amongst the worshippers of Iswara at Benares in the seventh century. The Sanyasis were commanded to be companionless: the sophists were sociable. The Sanyasi can eat and drink what he pleases; which the sophist could not do. The sophists and Buddhist priests were under the most rigid moral restraint, and characterized by the most singular self-denial; whilst it is to be feared, the self emancipation of the Sanyasi from the restraints of caste, and the ordinances of his faith, is but an excuse for the illicit indulgence of his appetites. But admitting that the Sanyasis and the sophists were identical, the best that could be said of them would be, that they were a class of persons who had abandoned the habits and customs prescribed by the Vedas and Puranas, [if they existed at that time,] and had adopted those of the Buddhist priesthood; and then, if the Sanyasis were, indeed, the sophists, where are we to look for the tribe of Brahmans?

I cannot conclude this question, whether or not the Brahmans were a tribe of strangers in India? without quoting a few passages from that learned authority, Professor Wilson. He says, "The *earliest* seat of the Hindus within the confines of Hindustan was *undoubtedly* the eastern confines of the Panjab; the holy land of Menu and the Puranas lies between the Drishadwati and Saraswati rivers; the Caygar and Sursooty of our barbarous maps." And he further adds, "The tract of land thus assigned for the first establishment of Hinduism in India *is of very circumscribed extent,* and could *not* have been the site of any *numerous tribes or nations.* The traditions that evidence early settlement of the Hindus in this quarter, ascribe to the settlers more of a philosophical and religious, than of a secular character, and combine with the *very narrow bounds* of the holy land, to render it possible that the earliest emigrants were the members, not of a political, so much as of a religious community, that they were a colony of priests, not in the restricted

[1] In the legend of Sagara, in the Vishnu Purana, he imposed upon two of the vanquished nations, which he made outcasts,—the Yavanas, (Greeks,) and the Sakas, (Indo-Scythians,)—the penalty of shaving the head; the former the *whole head*, and the latter the *upper half.*—Wilson, p. 375. The practice, therefore, was a mark of degradation, and not Hindu; and the sophists, on this ground, ought not to be Hindus.

sense in which we use the term, but in that in which it still applies in India,—to an Agrahára, a village or hamlet of Brahmans, who, although married, and having families, and engaging in tillage, in domestic duties, and in the conduct of SECULAR interests affecting the community, are still supposed to devote their principal attention to sacred study and religious offices. A society of this description, with its artificers and servants, and perhaps with a body of martial followers, might have found a home in the Brahmávartha of Menu, the land which thence was entitled 'the holy,' or more literally, 'the Brahman region,' and may have communicated to the rude, uncivilized, unlettered aborigines, the rudiments of social organization, literature, and religion; partly, in all probability, *brought along with them*, and partly devised and *fashioned by degrees*, for the growing necessities of new conditions of society. Those with whom this civilization commenced, would have had ample inducements to prosecute their successful work; and in the course of time the improvement which germinated on the banks of the Saraswati was extended beyond the borders of the Jumna and the Ganges."—Professor Wilson's Vishnu Purana, page 67.

Now, it would appear from the testimony of the Chinese general already quoted, that as late as the seventh century, the Brahman kingdoms were confined to the Panjab, and it was only between the Indus and the Jumna that Fa hian, in the first years of the fifth century, found a people of heretics [that is to say, not Buddhists]; and it was about Mooltan that Alexander met with a town of the Brahmans; and Scholasticus, who had been a prisoner in the south of India in the fourth century, and from whom Bishop Musæus obtained the information which St. Ambrosius quotes, plainly leads us to understand, that the Brahmans were not in the Peninsula in his day, for he distinctly says they were located beyond the Ganges; and St. Ambrose, in closing the account he had from Musæus, says, 'Hæc sunt quæ a Thebæo Scholastico de Brachmanis audivisse se 'affirmat Musæus; quæ vero ex historiis de Alexandri vita legi, et quæ ex plerisque auctoribus ad hoc facientia de illis desumpsi, nunc subnectam."—St. Ambrosius de moribus Brachmanorum. Professsor Wilson's locality, therefore, is very probably the *Indian* Nidus of the Brahmans; but evidently from the testimony of Fa hian, Soung yun, Hiuan thsang, the Chinese general, Scholasticus, and the bearing of numerous facts, their political power as a tribe, and their religious influence as a priesthood, as late as between the fourth and seventh centuries, had not got much to the eastward of the Sutledge; and certainly had not "*extended beyond the borders of*

the Jumna and Ganges." Now the very assertions of the Chinese, that the Brahmans were a *tribe, the first amongst the tribes of barbarians* [*strangers*], is thus confirmed by the most learned and competent authority in Europe; but Professor Wilson, probably, will not admit that the Brahmans were in the state in which he describes them in the above quotation, so late as the seventh century; nevertheless, the admission of their being a *small* tribe, occupying a *small* tract of country, engaged in the conduct of secular interests, living in villages, cultivating learning, [and divination, *vide* Soung yun,] and being married and having families, is in strict accordance with the accounts of the Chinese, with those of Buddha himself, and the Buddhistical scriptures, and with the inferences resulting from the general bearing of the facts collected in the preceding pages, and is opposed to their being the gymnosophists of the western writers; and the *absence* of *ancient* inscriptions, coins, or works of art, and even literature, [for the great body of the classical works of the Brahmans is said to date after the fifth century,] give an air of credibility to the assertions of the Chinese[1].

The Rev. Mr. Taylor, in his Analysis of the Mackenzie MSS., says, "originally the Brahmans were most certainly FOREIGNERS to the Peninsula; and to know that is one important step in tracing their remoter origin[2];" and then giving an account of the thirteen tribes of Nandivani Brahmans, he says, "*Agastya* took them South from the Ganges; at the *Vindhya,* he humbled the pride of the mountains, and there were *no longer Rakshasis,* [the Brahmanical account explaining it,] Asuras and their disciples, [which usually means Buddhists,] and the Brahmans then *gradually* filled the southern provinces." In the Mackenzie MSS., the *Sri carunara puranum,* or legend of the Brahman accountants of villages in the Pandayan kingdom is curious. The bearing of the whole goes to show that the *Samanas* [Semnoi], [Buddhists or Jains] originally possessed the south country; that the sending of the famous *Sampanter* from Chillambram, who *destroyed* the *Samanas,* led to the FIRST introduction of the Hindu system in the Pandayan kingdom;

[1] But even in the supposed localities of the Brahmans, the antiquities found, according to M. Masson, do not relate to them. He says, "It may be observed that the later antiquities in Affghanistan and *the Punjab, or in the countries along the course of the Indus,* are apparently mixed *Mithraic* and Buddhist." J. A. S. B. vol. v. p. 713. Some of the antiquities alluded to are as late as the sixth century, and yet Brahmanism had not yet attained sufficient power to mingle its traces with them.

[2] Madras Journal, No. XXII. p. 28.

that the Madura college was established to diffuse Sanskrit literature and the Hindu religion, and a large *immigration* of the Brahmans took place. Madras Journal, No. 25, p. 295. Dr. Taylor's comment on this "*puranum*," is, that the paper *proves* the Brahmans were *foreigners!* and they evidently supplanted the Buddhists. We have it from the personal testimony of Fa hian and Hiuan thsang, that up to their days no collision had taken place, or blood been shed, between the Buddhists and Brahmans; indeed, kindness to them had been commanded in the edicts of Asoko, and in many Buddhist inscriptions. The first introduction, therefore, of the Hindu religion, and Brahmans [foreigners], into the Pandayan kingdom, was *after* the destruction of the Samanas, and consequently *after* the visit of Hiuan thsang in the seventh century!

The whole leaning of Dr. Taylor's mind after his extensive review of the Mackenzie MSS., is plainly, that the Brahmans were a tribe of strangers in the Peninsula, and that their introduction into the south was comparatively recent. It appears to me that the dates alone, of the major part of the Sanskrit inscriptions in the south of India [fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries] would suffice to authorise the inference alluded to.

That the acquisition of religious and political power by the Brahmans was gradual and comparatively recent, is shown in a decided manner in several Sanskrit inscriptions written by Brahmans, in the phraseology used, and in the relation in which they are made to stand to princes. In the earliest inscriptions, [fourth, fifth, or sixth century,] in which lands are given to Brahmans by the prince, there is not any eulogy of them whatever[1]: indeed, in one from Gujarat, A.D. 323, they are not even designated by the term Brahman, but called "those who are versed in the *four* Vedas." In the Allahabad inscriptions, [about A.D. 800,] the Brahman writer says of himself, "Such is the composition of him who serves the countenance of the great monarch, [who, be it remarked, was a *Sudra*,] who by reason of the *favour of continually going about in his presence is even infatuated in mind!*" Two hundred years made a wonderful alteration; for, in an inscription at Chatarpur, A. D. 1016, the Brahman writer modestly says of a Brahman "*whose feet earthly kings adored*[2]." And in the inscriptions in the temple of

[1] J. A. S. B. vol. iv. p. 477, and vol. vii. p. 910. The mention of the *fourth* Veda, which is not noticed in Menu, makes it doubtful whether the Vikramaditya *samvat* has not been substituted for the Balibhi *samvat*, which would make the inscription date from A.D. 642, instead of A.D. 323.

[2] Ibid. No lxxxvii. p. 160.

Siva at Harsha in Sekawatti, A.D. 973, the Brahmans are denominated "*lords of the earth*[1] *!*" The inscriptions are, in truth, indices to facts: the first was recorded while the political and religious power of the Buddhists was still general, and the Brahmans were harmless and ready recipients of their charity; the second was recorded when Buddhism was fast declining, and *low caste* Hindu princes were establishing a monarchy, and the Brahmans were the humble panegyrists of the low caste princes; the third and fourth inscriptions were recorded when the Puranic system was rampant and Brahmans were consequently "*lords of the earth !*"

This is in thorough accordance with the opinions of the Rev. Dr. Stevenson of Bombay, the learned translator of parts of the Sama and Rig Vedas [which opinions reached me in manuscript while my paper was going through the press], who says, "that Brahmanism as first established, or afterwards revived, in the Maratha country, is *universally*, by the natives, traced to Sankhara Acharya in the NINTH CENTURY, whom they deem an avatar of Siva, raised up to put down Buddhism." It is very satisfactory to me, also, to find that the idea I had expressed of the Buddhist origin of the worship at Jagganath is in conformity with Dr. Stevenson's views, who, moreover, expresses a belief that the Brahman worship of Wittobha at Pundarpur, is of Jain origin, and that the Brahmans were shamed out of animal sacrifices by the humane examples of the Buddhists. But there are multiplied instances besides Pandarpur and Jagganatha of the adoption of *holy Buddhist* localities by Brahmans. The Buddhist [afterwards Jain] mountain of Girnar in Gujarat, although with only *one* small Hindu temple to *mother earth*, amongst many Jain temples, and THAT ONE an *appropriated* Jain temple, is now a place of Hindu pilgrimage; the great Saiva temple in the old city of Pattan in Gujarat was originally Buddhist; and the Hindus are now in possession of the Carli [Karleh] Buddha cave temple, and Buddhagaya in Behar.

But the preceding views of the comparatively recent introduction of Brahmanism into India are not confined to the Chinese travellers and isolated authors, for Major Moor, in his Hindu Pantheon, page 328, says, "In Ava, where Buddhism is orthodoxy, the idea is upheld, that it was equally prevalent in the same form THROUGHOUT INDIA, *till about the second century before Christ*, when the Brahmans are stated to *have introduced themselves* and their rites, and by their superior knowledge and address, to have excluded the Rahans [Arhan, or Buddhist priests] from almost every part of India, and

[1] Ibid. vol. iv. p. 367.

substituting their own dogmas, but retaining many of the scientific and historical facts of the ejected party, whose monuments of antiquity are also said to have been destroyed by the artful Brahmans, with the view of concealing *their own foreign origin* and the novelty of their doctrines."

The preceding paragraphs have unavoidably involved the question of caste to some extent. In discussing the seventh point, therefore, I shall be as brief as circumstances will permit. It has been shown, that Buddha, nearly 600 years before Christ, stated that there were Brahmans, Kshatryas, Vaisyas, and Sudras, without there being any religious distinctions between them. Fa hian, in A.D. 412, describes the four castes or tribes attending Buddhist sermons thrice in each half month[1], and their celebrating Buddhist funerals and festivals; implying that the four castes or tribes constituted the Buddhist population. It has been shown that, to this day, caste, as a *civil* institution, and not as a religious ordinance, exists amongst the Buddhists of Ceylon; it equally exists amongst the Jains of the west of India; and we have Buddha's authority that it equally existed twenty-four centuries ago. Numerous instances occur in the Chinese travellers, and the Buddhistical sacred writings, where Brahman Buddhists, Kshatrya Buddhists, Vaisya Buddhists, and Sudra Buddhists, are spoken of. The tribes of ancient Gaul or Britain, or the clans of Scotland, might all have been of one religious belief, with *specific designations*, and with such feelings of prejudice, pride, or hostility against each other as would prevent their intermarrying, or engaging in common social relations, yet nobody supposes that caste, as a religious distinction, existed amongst them. In the Mackenzie MSS. (Madras Journal, No. 22, p. 24) a dispute is recorded, in which the disputants are designated a *Jaina Brahman*, and a *Saiva Brahman*; and it was evidently written by a Hindu, because the award is given in favour of the Saiva, although the argument is on the side of the Jaina. Here the term Brahman had evidently no religious bearing, otherwise the heretic would not have been designated a *Jaina Brahman!*

It has been shown, that the Indian sophists, or gymnosophists, of the western writers, if they were Brahmans, must have been destitute of caste, as they could receive a portion of the *dressed food in any house*; and Arrian's description of the constitution of Indian

[1] On the 8th, 11th, and 15th of the half moon; and, strangely, the 8th, 11th, and 14th of each half moon are sacred, and set apart by the *modern Hindus* for important observances.—Professor Wilson's 1st Oxford Lecture, p. 26. This coincidence can scarcely be accidental.

[2] This is in most important contrast to Menu's Brahmans. "Should a Brahman

society is quite compatible with the *civil distinction* of caste still existing amongst the Buddhists of Ceylon, and which equally existed amongst the ancient Assyrians and Egyptians.

Mr. B. Hodgson of Nepal furnishes auxiliary aid to this interpretation, in a very curious paper in the transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society (vol. iii.), in which a Buddhist of the name of Ashu Ghosha refutes a series of propositions in a disputation with a Saiva or worshipper of Mahadeva. The Buddhist, for the sake of argument [only] admits the *truth* of the Brahmanical writings, and then proves from the writings themselves, the erroneousness of the doctrine of caste. He says, "If Brahmanhood must depend upon parentage, according to the passage in the '*Smritti*,' how is it that [the Brahman] Achala Muni was born of an elephant,—Casa Pingala of an owl,—and Agastya Muni from the agast flower,—Cousika Muni from the cusa grass, —and Capila from a monkey;—Gautami Rishi from a creeper that entwined a saul tree, and Drona Acharya from an earthen pot;—Taittiri Rishi from a partridge, and Parswa Rama from dust;—Sringa Rishi from a deer, and Vyasa Muni from a *fisherwoman*;—and Koshika Muni from a *female Sudra*;—Viswa Mitra[1] from a CHANDALNI [a base outcast], and Vasisththa Muni from a *strumpet*? Not one of them had a Brahman mother, and yet all were notoriously called Brahmans; whence I infer, that the title is a distinction of popular origin and cannot be traced to parentage from written authorities[2]." Gosha goes on to say, "I draw fresh proofs from the "*Manava Dharma*," which affirms that the Brahman who eats flesh *loses instantly* his rank, and also that by selling wax or salt, or milk, he becomes a Sudra in three days[3].

With respect to the last passage, it is necessary to remark, that Dr. Stevenson proves from the Rig Veda, that Brahmans made animal sacrifices, EVEN TO THE COW, and partook of the meat; the interdict, therefore, to eat flesh, in the Manava Dharma, must have been adopted from the Buddhists, and was an innovation on original

carnally know a woman of the Chandála or Mlechchha tribes, OR TASTE THEIR FOOD, *or accept a gift from them*, he loses his own class, if he acts unknowingly, or if knowingly, sinks to a level with them." Chap. 11, v. 176.

[1] Menu says, "But by virtues with humble behaviour, Prithu and Menu acquired sovereignty; Guvera wrath inexhaustible; and Viswá Mithra, son of Gidhi, the RANK OF A PRIEST, *though born in the* military class." Chap. 7, v. 42. And speaking of the mixed races, Menu says, "By the force of extreme devotion and of exalted fathers, ALL OF THEM MAY RISE IN TIME TO HIGH BIRTH, as by the reverse they may sink to a lower state in every age, among mortals in this inferior world." chap. 10, v. 42. Birth, therefore, *did not necessarily* constitute caste.

[2] Vol. iii., p. 162.

[3] Page 163.

Hinduism, and that work may therefore be considered comparatively modern. Gosha quotes Menu in numerous instances, and his ergo is, "It is clear, then, that he whose *life is pure*, and his temper cheerful, is the true Brahman, and that lineage [*kula*], has nothing to do with the matter."

Gosha's statement that *he* is the true Brahman whose *life is pure*, and that caste has nothing to do with it, is supported by the Chinese, who say that the term ahman Brmeans "*walking in purity*;" and Pliny says, that the appellation "Brahman" was applied to many nations, and intimates, that it *did not denote a distinct class or order of society*. [Nat. Hist. l. 6, c. 17.] This is in accordance with the "*Manava Dharma*," the Buddhist "*Gosha*," and the Brahman "*Baishan Payana*." Any body, in fact, was a Brahman, who was really pure. Gosha, in continuation, adds, "All that I have said about Brahmans you must know is equally applicable to Kshatriyas, and that the doctrine of the four castes is altogether false[1]." Again he says, "The distinctions between Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras, are founded merely upon the observance of divers rites, and the practice of *different professions*, as is clearly proved by the conversation of *Baishan Payana Rishi* with *Yudhisthira Raja*[2]." Then follows the conversation, the chief points of which are, that "he is a Brahman, who never eats flesh and never hurts a sentient thing, and practises *all* the *moral virtues*." It ends by the Rishi stating, "whoever professes these virtues is a Brahman; and if a Brahman professes them not, he is a Sudra. Brahmanhood depends not on race [kula] or birth [jat], nor on the performance of certain ceremonies. If a *Bhandal* is virtuous, and possesses the signs above noted, he is a Brahman. Oh Yudhisthira, formerly in this world of ours there was *but one caste*; the division into four castes originated with diversity of rites and of *avocations*; all men were born of woman in like manner[3]!"

[1] Page 166.

[2] Yudhisthira, of the Chandra Vansa, or *Lunar* race, and of the Pandu dynasty, was *first* king of Delhi, and, according to the fables of the Puranas, reigned about 3100 before Christ!! Colonel Tod makes the whole of the dynasties of the *Lunar* race *Buddhists*, from their very origin. He says, "Of the two races of India, one was the Surya Vansa, or children of the sun, and the other was the Som Vansa, Chandra Vansa, or Indu Vansa, children of the moon; the latter were from Buddha, and ALWAYS Buddhists and worshippers of the 'ONE ONLY.' And they gave a name to India, as Indu Vansa: the former, or Surya Vansa, became idolators, and inhabited Syria, Assyria, &c., &c." He considers them coeval in antiquity, and struggling for paramount political and religious power. Asiatic Journal, vol. xxxiii., p. 235.

[3] Page 168.

If it be borne in mind that Gosha quotes a *Brahman* sage, or saint, who makes the qualifications of a Brahman absolutely those of a Buddhist priest, using almost the language of Buddha himself; the quotation is in no ordinary degree remarkable, the more so as the Brahman sage, or saint, repudiates the Brahman sacrifices of animals and eating of the flesh, as commanded in the Vedas! It looks, indeed, as if these opinions of the Brahman Baisham Payana Rishi, opposed as they are to the Vedas, and according as they do with Buddhism, were adopted from the Buddhists.

Professor Wilson gives countenance to the inference, that caste could have had very little influence in ancient times, for he admits that the collector and arranger of the *sacred Vedas* was of *very impure* caste. He says, "It is also admitted, that the Vedas existed in a scattered form until the parts of which they now consist were collected and arranged in the actual form, by a person of very equivocal origin,—the son of Rishi by the daughter of a fisherman, and, therefore, properly speaking, of *very impure caste*,—and who, from his arranging the Vedas, is known by the name of Vyása, the arranger[1]."

Is it to be believed that if the modern feelings of caste had existed anciently, such a fact as the above would not have been suppressed by the Brahmans of the period? Why, the impure castes are not permitted even to hear the Vedas repeated, much less to arrange and expound them.

But Professor Wilson affords yet stronger ground for the Buddhist Gosha's argument, and that, too, from the Vishnu Purana. In his able introduction to that work, page 69, after speaking of the foundation and colonization of Ayodhya [Oude], by Vaivaswata, the son of the Sun, he has the following passages:—"The distinction of castes was not fully developed *prior* to the colonization" [which means, I suppose, *while* the only location of the Hindus or Brahmans was in the Punjab]. And, again, "of the sons of Vaivaswata, some as kings were *Kshatryas*, but one *founded a tribe of Brahmans*, another became a *Vaisya*, and a fourth a *Sudra*." This practically proves what Buddha himself and Gosha assert, and what we gather from Arrian and the other Greek authors, that caste did not exist as a religious distinction! And, again, Professor Wilson says, "there are various notices [in the Purana] of *Brahmanical* Gotra's, or families, proceeding from *Kshatrya races*." Of course, then, Brahmanism could have had little to do with lineage: and the Professor adds, "there are indications of severe struggles

[1] First Oxford Lecture, p. 7.

between Kshatryas and Brahmans for *spiritual* dominion even,—which had the *right* to TEACH *the Vedas*."

Diodorus Siculus, who is not quoted by Palladius, in one place represents the philosophers of India, who were the Brahmans of Megasthenes, as equivalent to the priests of other nations; but in another passage he considers them as a *separate nation, sect, or body of men, settled in one particular part of India.*

Ptolemy considers the *Brahmans* as *distinct from the Gymnosophists;* the former he locates near the sea, and the Gymnosophists he places in the north-eastern part of India, near the western bank of the Ganges. This opinion of Ptolemy is of importance, as it shows that, in his early time, the accuracy of Megasthenes was questioned in his designating the Gymnosophists as Brahmans; and the opinion adds weight to the facts I have adduced on the same question.

In a note to Fa hian, page 186, by M. Klaproth, he quotes *a very ancient* book, the Ma teng kia king, cited in the San tsang fâ sou, book xvi., page 13, which says:—"It is falsely supposed that we [the family of Buddha] are sprung from Brahma, and they call us the children of Brahma. The Brahmans *pretend* that they are born from the mouth of Brahma, the Kshatryas from his navel, the Vaisyas from his arms, and the Soûtras from his feet, and they regard themselves as taking precedence of other men, WHICH TRULY THEY DO NOT. The word Po lo men, Brahman, means, he *who walks in purity.* Part of them are secular, and part religious, studying the doctrine[1]; they call themselves the offsets of Brahma, but their name comes from their preserving the *doctrine* and being pure. The Kshatryas are the lords or owners of the land, and are of the royal race; the Vaisyas are merchants, and the Soûtras, labourers."

M. Klaproth adds, "On voit par l'histoire des patriarches, que la distinction des castes n'empêchait pas de choisir indifféremment le principal chef de la religion, dans l'une ou dans l'autre. Shakya Muni était Kshatrya. Mâha Kasyapa, son successeur, appartenait à la caste des Brahmanes. Le troisième patriarche était Vaisya, et son successeur était Soûtra. Ainsi, conformément au principe du Buddhisme on avait exclusivement en vue la pureté morale de celui qu'on choisissait pour la transmission de la doctrine, sans avoir égard aux distinctions de la puissance et à la supériorité des castes."

[1] The term *doctrine* is usually applied to the "*Dhammo*" of the Buddhists.

The author of the article "Brahmans," in Rees' Cyclopædia, after quoting numerous authorities, concludes with saying "Upon the whole it seems to be evident from various records concerning the ancient Brahmans, that they were not so much a distinct nation, or particular class of philosophers, as a *tribe* or *body* of men, or rather a numerous family, descended from one common ancestor, who existed at some remote period, and who *were different from the progenitors of the people amongst whom they lived.*" Which goes the length of saying they were a *tribe of strangers* amongst the people of India! confirming, in short, the Chinese travellers in their statements.

If we go to the Nepal legends, we find the same impressions with respect to the absence of caste. The legends speak of the visits to Nepal of Sakya's *predecessors,* Vipasyi Buddha, Sikhi Buddha, Viswabhu Buddha, and Manju Sri, all like Sakya himself, accompanied by bhikshus, disciples, rajahs, and cultivators, comprising a multitude of the peasantry of the land; also of a Raja called Dharmakar. The inhabitants of Nepal *were all of one caste or had no caste,* but their descendants in the course of time became divided into many castes, according to the trades and professions which they followed [this is what Arrian says]. Thus, in the early ages, Nepal had four classes of SECULAR people, as *Brahman, Kshatrya, Vaisya,* and *Sudra,* and four ascetical classes, namely, *Bhikshu, Sramama, Chailaka,* and *Arhanta,* and ALL WERE, "BUDDHA MARGI" [or following the ways of Buddhism]. A great many Brahmans and others, who accompanied the Raja Prachanda to Nepal, received the tonsure and became bhikshus at the same time with the Raja, and took up their abode in the monasteries of Nepal. Some others of those that came with Prachanda to Nepal, preferring the *pursuits of the world,* continued to exercise them in Nepal, where they also remained and became Buddhists[1]. We have here demonstrated from Buddhist authority the accuracy of Scholasticus quoted by St. Ambrosius:—"Quod genus Brachmanorum non ex propria tantum voluntate SÆCULARIBUS REBUS renuntiat, &c., &c.," plainly telling us that they were *lay men,* and engaged in worldly affairs until they became Gymnosophists or Sophists, or Buddhist *bhikshus.*

But as late as the eighth century, caste, if it existed, could not have been any great obstacle, when it stood in the way of a Brahman's ambition; for when Mahomed bin Kassim, from Bagdad, invaded Sindh[2] in 92 Hegara, A.D. 711, and captured Alor the

[1] J. A. S. B. vol. iii., page 219, 220, and 316.

[2] The territory of the Raja of Sindh extended [at this period] to the East as

capital, he found a *Brahman* named Dahir, son of Cha che *Brahman*, who had usurped the government on the death of his master Sahi or *Sahir Sin*, by means of *marrying his master's widow;* although necessarily of a different caste[1], the Raja being of the Sasee or Sahu family, which, if the same as the Sah's of Surashtra, from their coins and legends, must have been Buddhist. Moreover, Dahir, *Brahman* as he was, [like the Brahmans mentioned by Arrian near Mooltan,] opposed Kassim, sword in hand, at the head of his troops; and in the battle he had two beautiful female slaves with him in his howdah, one of whom administered *wine*, and the other paun[2]. The supposed gymnosophist Brahmans would have marvelled not a little at the varied indulgencies and physical prowess of their co-religionist! !

I may add, that if we look to the supposed aborigines of India, the Goands, the Bhils, the Kohlés, &c., &c., we find that caste is unknown amongst them.

It proves nothing to say that caste, as a religious distinction, existed, because Arrian assures us, that generations of men were confined to particular trades; for in that case caste, as a religious distinction, existed amongst the ancient Assyrians and ancient Egyptians, as a similar interdict to trades intermarrying obtained amongst those nations; and nobody asserts that caste in the Hindu sense formed part of their institutions. M. Goguet, in his Origin of Laws, says, "that in the Assyrian empire the people were distributed into a certain number of tribes, and that professions were hereditary; that is to say, children were not permitted to quit their father's occupation, and embrace another. [Diodorus, lib. ii. p. 142.] We know not the time nor the author of this institution, which from the highest antiquity prevailed almost over all Asia, and even in several other countries." Vol. i. p. 43.

But Hindu caste involves the most monstrous inequalities in the condition of men, and in their respective civil and religious rights. Menu says, "The first part of a Brahman's compound name should indicate holiness;—of a Kshatrya's, power,—of a Vaisya's, wealth,—and of a Sudra's, *contempt*." Chap. ii. v. 31. "One principal duty the supreme ruler assigned to a Sudra; namely, to *serve* the three first classes without depreciating their worth." [Chap.

far as Kashmir and Kanouj, West to Mekran and the sea, South to the territories of the ports of Surat and Deo, and North to Kandahar, Secustan, and the mountains of Suliman and Kynakan. From the Muhammadan historians.

[1] J. A. S. B. vol. vii. p. 307.

[2] Piper betel leaf and the nut of the Areca faufel.

i. v. 91.] "But a man of the servile class, whether bought or unbought, he [a Brahman] may compel to perform servile duty; because such a man was CREATED by the self-existent FOR THE PURPOSE of serving Brahmans." "A Sudra, though emancipated by his master, is not released from a state of servitude; FOR OF A STATE WHICH IS NATURAL TO HIM, *by whom can he be divested?*"—Menu, chap. viii., v. 413, 414. And throughout the code of Menu, contempt and servitude were allotted to the unfortunate Sudras; they were, in fact, no better than Helots. But Arrian's authorities did not find this state of things in India, which must be of subsequent origin, for he expressly says, "the most memorable matter was, that all Indians were perfectly free, or exempt, or independent; no man was a slave, or servant, or attendant; in which they resembled the Lacedæmonians; but the Indians had the advantage of them in having *no Helots.*"

Εἶναι δὲ καὶ τόδε μέγα ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ, πάντας Ἰνδοὺς εἶναι ἐλευθέρους, οὐδέ τινα δοῦλον εἶναι Ἰνδόν· τοῦτο Λακεδαιμονίοισιν ἐς ταὐτὸ συμβαίνει καὶ Ἰνδοῖσιν. Λακεδαιμονίοις μέν γε οἱ εἵλωτες δοῦλοί εἰσι, καὶ τὰ δούλων ἐργαζόνται· Ἰνδοῖσι δὲ, οὐδὲ ἄλλος δοῦλός ἐστι, μήτοιγε Ἰνδῶν τις.—Hist. Ind. cap. xi. Under the circumstances here noticed, the code of Menu consequently could not have been in operation.

But my limits do not permit me to pursue the subject; and considering the weight of the authorities quoted, there would appear to be strong ground for supposing that caste, as a religious distinction, did not exist anciently in India.

Although the eighth point has very extended bearings and would admit of diffuse illustrations, I shall confine my notices to a few simple facts. In the first place it may be asked, why are there not the same tangible and irrefragable proofs extant of the Sanskrit as of the Pali language; the more particularly so as Brahmanism and Sanskrit have *hitherto* been believed to emanate from the fabled ages? To reply to this query, I shall call to my assistance several redoubtable authorities; but previously to quoting these authorities, a few preliminary observations are necessary. A multitude of inscriptions, in a character having a certain resemblance to the Sanskrit Deva Nagari of India, had been known for very many years to Orientalists, but their translation had equally baffled the most learned Brahmans and the most learned Europeans. No difficulty, however, was too great for the acute mind of Mr. Prinsep, and by the most indefatigable research, and by multiplied comparisons of inscriptions of dif-

ferent ages, commencing with the most modern and going upwards into antiquity, taking each modern Sanskrit letter and following it through its modifications in inscriptions of different ages, he found that the modern Deva Nagari characters were absolutely resolved into the primitive character of the old inscriptions, which had till then eluded all investigations; and in the process, it was observed, that the primitive letters increased in number in the various inscriptions in the ratio of their respective antiquity. The power of the letters being thus determined, there was not any great difficulty in reading the inscriptions themselves; but to the infinite surprise of Mr. Prinsep, they proved not to be in the *anticipated* Sanskrit language, but in the ancient Pali, a cognate tongue, which was anciently, and is now, in a slightly modified form, in use by the Buddhists for their sacred literature. Elsewhere, Mr. Prinsep in speaking of the letters on the Buddhist coins of Behat, says, "Here the letters resemble those of the lats [pillars] or of the caves on the West of India; THE MOST ANCIENT WRITTEN FORM OF THE SANSKRIT LANGUAGE!"—J. A. S. B., vol. iv., page 637. But Mr. Prinsep is not alone in his authority for the process of the discovery, or in the importance he attaches to it; for Dr. Mill, late principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta, who, from his having written in Sanskrit verse, has been designated by Brahmans the "*European Calidas*," in speaking of the Sanskrit inscriptions in the temple of Siva, at Harsha, in Shekavati, which is of the tenth century [A. D. 973], says, "that the character, though *illegible at present* to the Pandits even of Northern India, presents no difficulty after the deciphering of the more ancient inscriptions, whose characters resemble those of the *second* on the Allahabad pillar. This stone exhibits the *Deva Nagari in its state of transition*, from the form visible in *that* and other yet older monuments *to the writing which now* universally bears that name, and which may be traced without sensible variation in inscriptions as old as the twelth century;" but above all, Dr. Mill says, the Harsha inscription[1] "*forms a definite standard from which the age of other monuments of similar or more remotely resembling characters, may be inferred with tolerable certainty*[2]."

[1] This inscription has evident relation to the recent triumphs of the Saiva's over the fallen Buddhists. The temple is dedicated to Siva under the name of Harsha, हृषा [Joy], because he had destroyed the Asura or Demon Tripura, who had expelled Indra and his gods from heaven, and Siva received the praises of the restored celestials on the mountain where the temple was built. The inscription calls Buddha Gaya the Holy Asura.

[2] J. A. S. B. vol. iv. page 367.

The knowledge of the *transition periods* of the Deva Nagari is thus of vast importance, as the *proximate* age of inscriptions WHERE DATES *are wanting* is consequently deducible *from the form of the character alone*. Mr. Wathen, late Secretary to Government at Bombay, in his translations of inscriptions upon copper plates found in Gujarat and Kattywar, says, "the character in which these grants are written *is evidently derived from the more ancient one* [*the Pali*], which is found in the caves of Keneri, Carli, and Verula [Ellora], on this side of India, and it resembles that of the cave inscription, deciphered by Mr. Wilkins in the first volume of Asiatic Researches." ONE ORIGINAL character, being *that of the caves*, appears to have first existed throughout the western parts of India, Dekhan, Konkun, Gujarat, &c. It seems to have undergone gradual changes, until about two centuries subsequently to the eras of Vikramaditya and Salivahana, an alphabet nearly similar or identical with that at present noticed, would appear to have been introduced. [Mr. Wathen then arranges numerous inscriptions according to their antiquity, *showing the passage from one to the other*.] From these, it appears, that up to Saka 730, [A. D. 808,] *no very material difference* in the character had taken place[2].

I may venture to say, in testimony of this subject having formerly occupied my attention, that twenty-two years ago I commenced to tread the path in tracing the old inscriptions, which Mr. Prinsep has trod successfully to the end: and in a paper of mine of old inscriptions, dated Poona, August 1, 1828, which was sent to the Literary Society of Bombay, and subsequently published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, I stated that I had identified *forty-five Buddha* letters, [that is to say, letters in the inscriptions in the Buddha caves,] in ancient *Sanskrit* inscriptions, and that the older the Sanskrit inscription, the more Buddha letters were found in it; and I coneluded by the query, "Can it be that these letters are a very ancient form of the Sanskrit alphabet, and that the inscriptions themselves are in the Sanskrit language?" The latter part of the query has been negatived, but the first part has been replied to affirmatively and conclusively.

These preliminary observations, establishing the fact of all the modern Sanskrit letters being resolvable into the ancient Pali letters, and there being no very ancient inscription *whatever* in Deva Nagari, or

[1] Which inscription at first was supposed to be coeval with the Christian era, but was subsequently found to be of the tenth century.

[2] J. A. S. B., vol. iv. page 481.

even in the Sanskrit language, we shall be enabled to appreciate justly the full force of the following observation of Mr. Prinsep. He says, "The old alphabet, [alluding to specimens from the Buddhist caves of Western India, sent to him by Colonel Sykes,] appear to be the very prototype of all the Deva Nagari and Dakshini alphabets; and *nothing* in the *pure Sanskrit tongue has yet been discovered*, PRESERVED IN THIS CHARACTER; INDEED, IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE THAT IT SHOULD, because, still more than the Pali, the alphabet is *deficient in many letters* ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO SANSKRIT SYNTAX[1]!

Can it be necessary to proceed one step further in the argument; for it is incredible to suppose that the modern Sanskrit could have EXISTED *without* symbols or a character to express its present richness, force, and beauty. How, then, are we to account for the fact of the modern Deva Nagari resolving itself into the ancient Pali letters, and those letters expressing *only*, not the Sanskrit language, but the ancient Pali? I cannot see any other way of solving the question, than in the supposition, that at the period the primitive Deva Nagari was expressing the old Pali language and embodying BUDDHIST ASSOCIATIONS ONLY, the Sanskrit itself, if it existed independently from the old Pali, was in the same rude state with the Pali, and could not, therefore, have been *Sanskrit*, which means "polished, finished, done." The assiduous cultivation of the language, however, by the *small* tribe of Brahmans occupying the *small* territory in the Punjab, led to the necessity for enlarging and improving the powers of the Pali symbols to express the increasing refinements; and this accounts for the changes not only in the letters, but the language, which are observable in inscriptions of successive ages. That this is no wild theory is manifested by a passage in Professor Wilson's first Oxford lecture[2]; speaking of the Vedas, he says, "the prayers are addressed to divinities, most of whom are no longer worshipped, and some even are unknown." "There is one, for instance, named Ribhu, of whose history, office, or even name, a person might ask in vain from one end of India to the other. The prayers have consequently gone out of fashion along with their objects, and when they are employed, they are used as little else than unmeaning sounds, *the language in which they are written* DIFFERING MUCH *both in words and construction from the Sanskrit of later writings*. In many parts of India the Vedas are not studied at all; and when they are studied, it is merely for the sake of repeating the words; the sense is regarded as a matter of no im-

[1] J. A. S. B. vol. vi., page 1043. [2] Page 8.

portance, and is not *understood* even by the Brahman who recites or chaunts the expressions." It is to be supposed if the language were pure Sanskrit, that the Brahman who had *studied* the Vedas would understand it by using his brains; but the language, it would appear, differs so much from modern *Sanskrit,* that it requires too much ratiocination and etymological research for the Brahman to master it. The observation of Professor Wilson is in accordance with the legitimate deduction from Mr. Prinsep's dogma, and with a multitude of facts which can be produced. But Mr. Prinsep has other powerful auxiliaries, and amongst them, Mr. Hodgson of Nepal, who, in addressing Mr. Prinsep, in curious opposition to his own opinion about the *antiquity of Sanskrit,* says, "the tendency of your researches to prove that the elaborate forms of the Deva Nagari were constructed from simple elements, more or less appropriated to the popular *Bhashas,* is very curious, and seems to *strengthen* the opinion of those who hold Hindi to be indigenous, OLDER *than Sanskrit in India,* and not [as Colebrooke supposed] deduced from Sanskrit. *If Buddhism used these primitive letters before the Deva Nagari*[1] *existed,* the date of the creed would seem *to be thrown back to a remote era, or the Sanskrit letters and* LANGUAGE must be *comparatively recent*[2]*;*" and Mr. Hodgson, a little below, adds, "I incline to the opinion that Hindi may be *older* in India than Sanskrit, and independent, originally, of Sanskrit. The Sanskrit letters have been proved to be recent, and it remains to be determined whether the Sanskrit now known is equally so." For the sake of argument, supposing it to be established that Sanskrit, in its rough or unpolished state, did exist contemporaneously with the ancient Pali inscriptions, and from its rough state capable of being expressed by Pali letters; why then is it, that in the length and breadth of the land in India, claimed to have been under Brahmanical spiritual dominion and civil institutions, from the fabled ages, NOT A SINGLE SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION HAS BEEN FOUND APPROACHING TO WITHIN SIX OR SEVEN HUNDRED YEARS OF THE DATE OF THE PALI BUDDHIST INSCRIPTIONS, the earliest Sanskrit inscription dating in the fourth century, and that inscription not being in pure Sanskrit; indeed, as late as the eighth century, the Sanskrit in inscriptions is still found to be wanting in purity. This absence of ancient Sanskrit inscriptions cannot be attributed to indifference to fame on the part of Brahmans, or to a desire to live in futurity; for, the moment we have tangible proofs of Brahmanical influence in India,

[1] Which has been proved in every Buddhist inscription to be the fact.
[2] J. A. S. B., vol. vi., page 685.

we are flooded with Sanskrit inscriptions rolling upon us, not in hundreds but thousands; dating between the tenth and seventeenth centuries! Why is this? Can it be that not only the Sanskrit letters, but the Sanskrit language itself, sprung from the Pali; and that the Brahmans for their own object separated it from the parent stock, and gradually fashioned it into its present perfection? Let us see what grounds there are for such a speculation.

Mr. Csoma de Körös, the Thibetan scholar, writing to Mr. James Prinsep, says, "In reference to your and Mr. Turnour's opinion, that the ORIGINAL records of the Buddhists in ancient India were written in the Magadhi [Pali?] dialect, I beg leave to add in support of it, that in the index to the *Kahgyur*, it is stated, that the Sutras in general [with exceptions mentioned], after the death of Sakya, were first written in the *Sindhu* language [a dialect of Pali?], and the *Sher* chhin and rGyud in Sanskrit. It is probable that in the seventh century and afterwards, the ancient Buddhist religion was remodelled and *generally* written in Sanskrit[1]." This admission of the general use of Sanskrit in the *seventh* century, in supersession of the language previously used by the Buddhists for thirteen centuries, at least, is something, and would accord with the rising influence of Brahmanism; but, as far as the Buddhists are concerned, it militates against the fact of the Buddhist nations who derived their religion from India [the Ceylonese, the Birmans, the Siamese, and the Cochin Chinese], at that period, and to this day, having their sacred writings in Pali; and considering the numerous sacred writings which were taken from India to China, in various early ages, we may yet look to meeting with them in that country, and verifying the fact, whether they were in Pali or Sanskrit. On the whole, the inference would be that the Buddhists had not commenced the use of Sanskrit for their sacred writings so early as the seventh century.

A fact related in the Mahwanso of Ceylon adds to the doubt respecting the general use of Sanskrit in the beginning of the fifth century, A.D. A Brahman from Magadha [Behar], learned in the *three* Vedas, [it would appear, therefore, there were three and not four Vedas in those days; and Menu, throughout, mentions only three,] and all the knowledge of the times, went to Ceylon, about A.D. 410, for the express purpose of disputations with the *heterodox* Buddhist priests, as he considered them. He went to scoff and he remained to pray; for, defeated in argument, and satisfied of the superiority of the Buddhist doctrines to his own, he submitted to the tonsure and became a Buddhist priest; he was called Buddha-

[1] J. A. S. B., vol. vi., page 688.

ghósa. With the usual zeal of a neophyte, he manifested his devotion to his new creed by translating the Attha Katha, or commentaries on the Pitakattya, or Buddhist scriptures, originally written in the Singalese language by Mahindo, the son of the Emperor Asoko, and which were then only extant in Singalese, the rest of the scriptures being in Pali. This Brahman, learned in the three Vedas, of course translated, between A.D. 410 and 432, the Attha Katha into SANSKRIT. No such thing; he translated the commentaries into the PALI LANGUAGE. The phraseology of the Mahawanso is, "Taking up his residence in the secluded Ganthakaro Wiharo [monastery], at Anuradhapura, he translated, according to the grammatical rules of the Magadhi [Pali], *which is the* ROOT OF ALL LANGUAGES, the whole of the Singalese Attha Katha [into Pali]. This proved an achievement of the utmost consequence to all languages spoken by the human race." Mahawanso, pp. 252, 253.

One marked feature must not be overlooked, that in the fourth century, the Pali was considered *the root of all languages!* Now, is it reasonable to suppose, in case the Sanskrit language had attained the grammatical accuracy, the richness and perfection which we know it had attained in the eleventh century, or had even been in general use for the purposes of sacred literature in the beginning of the fifth century, that the Brahman would not rather have used a language necessarily most familiar to him, from his deep reading in the Vedas, than the Pali, with which the Brahman, as a Brahman, ought, properly, not to have been familiar, and not only familiar, but, as the Mahawanso says, so critically acquainted, that in three translations which he made independently of each other, "There was [not] in the measure of a verse, or in the letter of a word, the slightest variation." Does not the above fact add strength to the inference derived from the absence of *ancient* Sanskrit inscriptions and the unpolished state of the earliest of them (those of the fourth century), that the Sanskrit was only in progress to perfection, and was little used beyond the "*small* tribe inhabiting the *small* tract in the Punjab," which was designated by the Chinese about this very period, as the "*chief of the tribes of barbarians*" [strangers]?

Fahian went to India for the express purpose of verifying the Buddhist scriptures, and examining into its doctrines and practices; he was engaged for fourteen years in these objects, copying and collecting manuscripts, and orally informing himself in all parts of the country, from the Himalayas to Ceylon; and as he at no time mentions a second language being used for sacred literature, or that he had the slightest difficulty in communicating with the priesthood

throughout the country, we may fairly infer that one language obtained, which was common to the priesthood of all India; and as we know that the inscriptions of three centuries before Christ, in the north and the south, and the east and the west, and in the heart of India, were in old Pali, and that the *scriptures* of most Buddhist nations, all of whom derived their religion from India, are also recorded in the Pali language to this day; it is fair to infer that *the one language* which Fahian found in general use, for sacred purposes, was the Pali, and not the Sanskrit, particularly as in the minute details of all the heresies in India, including the Brahmanical or Hindú, no mention whatever is made of the Sanskrit being associated with them; and this would not be from oversight, for when the Chinese travellers met with barbarous tongues, they pointed them out. Mr. Prinsep's opinion goes to the length of the Pali character being the original, not only of the Deva Nagari, but of other alphabets. His words are, "The old Lat character if carefully analyzed, each member of the alphabet will be found to contain the element of the corresponding members, not only of the Deva Nagari, but of the Canouj, Pali, Tibetan, the Hala Canara, and of all the derivatives of the Sanskrit stock[1]."

It may be asked, "What was the Sanskrit of very early periods? Was it capable, like the Deva Nagari character, of being resolved into a Pali root? or are the Pali and Sanskrit languages the offspring of an ancient common parent?" We have the testimony of very high authority, Dr. Mill, that the language of the Vedas differs so much from pure Sanskrit, that "to the understanding of it, a 'Bhashya,' or gloss, is all but indispensable[2]." What relation then does the Sanskrit of the eleventh century, and that of the Vedas, bear to the Pali of Asoko's Edicts? Do the two languages approximate in the ratio of the antiquity of the Sanskrit?

Sir William Jones, in his preface to the Institutes of Menu, broaches a speculation, the reasonableness of which we can test by reference to palpable epochs of improvement in our own and other modern European languages. He says that the Sanskrit of the three first Vedas, that of the Menava Dharma Sastra [Menu], and the Puranas, differs in pretty exact proportion to the Latin of Numa, that of Appius, and that of Cicero, or of Lucretius, where he has not affected an obsolete style. He therefore assumes that the several changes in Sanskrit took place in times very nearly proportional to the above changes in the Latin; that the Vedas must therefore have been written three hundred years before the Institutes of Menu, and those Institutes three hundred years before the

[1] J. A. S. B., vol. vi., page 74. [2] Ibid., vol. iii., page 258.

Puranas. By this calculation, Sir William Jones dates the Vedas from the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries before Christ. But as Professor Wilson has proved, from internal evidence, that the Puranas were written or compiled between the eighth and fourteenth centuries of the Christian era, it follows, according to Sir William Jones's hypothesis, that the Institutes of Menu date from the fifth century A.D., and the Vedas from the second century. Both the above are indeed great authorities; but in spite of this startling deduction, from applying Sir William Jones's calculations to Professor Wilson's dates, the absence of Sanskrit inscriptions before the fourth century, and the language of the inscriptions of *that period*, give some weight to doubts respecting the antiquity of all the sacred writings of the Brahmans. It will be found indeed that inscriptions of a much later period than the above supposed date of the Institutes of Menu, are not recorded in pure Sanskrit. Even the celebrated inscriptions on the Allahabad and Bhitari pillars of the Gupta family of Sudras are not in pure Sanskrit. Dr. Mill considers their date to be about the era of Charlemagne in Europe. His words are, "It is scarcely possible to fix the subjects of our present inquiry, the Guptas, higher than the age of Charlemagne in Europe, if we suppose them identical with the Guptas of the Puranas[1]." But the Vishnu Purana, which Professor Wilson refers to the tenth century [A.D. 954], in a pretended prophecy, talks of the Guptas reigning in Magadha, which would bring the age of polished Sanskrit down to the tenth century[2].

If we could have looked with confidence to any one city in India more than another to afford us proofs of the early use of Sanskrit, and memorials of Brahmanism, it is to Ougein [Ujjayana], and yet neither the buried city nor its successor, affords us a single Sanskrit inscription of ancient date; and its coins have Buddhist emblems and Pali legends; and amongst the gifts to the *Buddhist* temple at Sanchi, recorded in the old Lât character and the Pali language, we read as follows, "The gift of the body of the Rishis, performing their *austerities* in Ougein[3]."—"The gift of the morality

[1] J. A. S. B., vol. vi., page 12. [2] Ibid., vol. v., page 644.

[3] We find from this inscription that Buddhist priests did perform austerities like the Gymnosophists mentioned by Arrian and other Western authors. Austerities, therefore, were not exclusively Brahmanical characteristics; no more than shaving the head and going naked [Gymnosophist-like] were orthodox characteristics. The Vayu Purana, quoted by Professor Wilson, says, "The three Vedas are the covering of all beings, and they who throw it off through delusion are called Nagnas [naked]." Further on it says, "The Brahman, who unprofitably bears a staff, *shaves his head*, *goes naked*, makes a vow, or mutters prayers; all

students of Ougein to the Rishis."—"The victory gift of the people performing austerities of Ougein." And a multitude of other gifts to this Buddhist temple are recorded from inhabitants of Ougein, affording presumptive evidence of the population being Buddhist. Why is it that *none* of these inscriptions are in Sanskrit[1]?

If we pass from the inhabitants of the celebrated Ougein in the heart of India, to the prince and his people who have left their records in Cuttack, on the eastern coast, we ask the same question: Why are not some of these records in Sanskrit; the more particularly so as the prince, in his outset in life, adopted the Brahmanical faith? The chief inscription[2] which I quote is met with on the rocks at Khandgiri in Cuttack; it is lengthened but mutilated. It is in the old Pali character, and is in that language which is neither exactly the modern Pali nor the modern Sanskrit; but it is much more removed from the Sanskrit than the Pali, and may be the parent of both. It is not necessary to quote more, than to say that the prince of Kalinga, called Airá, at twenty-four years of age, wrested the government from an usurper. On his accession, he chose the Brahmanical faith; but subsequently studying law in an establishment of Buddhist priests, WHO WERE SETTLED THERE UNDER THE ANCIENT KINGS, he finally ended by becoming a Buddhist, and dedicating a Chaitya, or temple for relics. Twice the date 1300 occurs without mention of an era; and the alphabet and language of the inscription pertaining to the Buddhist periods before Christ, or to the first or second century, made this date very perplexing. But Fahian steps in to solve our difficulties. When he was in Ceylon, in 412 A.D., the Buddhists counted that year the 1497th of their era. Now Kalinga, of which Airá was king, had from Sakya Buddha's death, B.C. 543, been celebrated for its great Buddhist temple of the tooth relic[3], (which relic fell to the share of Kalinga, at Buddha's death, and was transferred to Ceylon, A.D. 311, in the ninth year of the reign of Siri Megha Wameo, by a *Brahman* princess, and is now in British custody in Ceylon,) and his

such persons are called Nagnas, and the like." And Vishnu, when he appeared in the form of Buddha, to delude the world, appeared as a *naked mendicant*, with *his head shaven.* Vishnu Purana, page 538. The shaven head and nakedness, therefore, were heretical characteristics.

[1] J. A. S. B., vol. vii., page 564. [2] Ibid., vol. vi., page 1087.

[3] This Chaitya has been replaced in Kalinga, by the now well-known temple of Jagganatha; but the Rev. Dr. Stephenson judiciously remarks, that the memory of the ancient rites is still preserved in those celebrated at Jagganatha, and I may add a strengthening coincidence to his opinion, that, according to Fahian, the tooth-festival and the modern Rathyátra occur in the same month.

inscriptions tell us that he was a Buddhist; and that the Buddhist priests had been settled in Kalinga from the time of the ancient kings; it is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that he uses a Buddhist era, and it may be permitted to us to believe that it was the same as the Buddhist era of Ceylon. This would inosculate excellently well with contemporary facts and circumstances. It would make the date of the inscription A.D. 215, a period not too modern for the alphabet and language used; a period when Brahmanism and other heterodox doctrines were making such progress as to call for the hundred discourses of the Buddhist Deva Bodhisattwa, to arrest the evil; a period also antecedent, by nearly two centuries, to the earliest Sanskrit inscription. And here recurs the question, Why was it that *Aira*, who had at first adopted Brahmanism, did not record his edict in that language, now deemed peculiar to Brahmanism, as was the practice in after times? But we cannot banish from our minds the palpable facts, that all the ancient inscriptions throughout India are in Pali; that they are mostly for the *instruction* of the people; are addressed to the people, and must have been understood by the people; and the general use of Pali indicates the general knowledge of the language: deductions which cannot be applied to Sanskrit. The oldest *Sanskrit* inscription, with a date, is on a copper plate found at Kaira in Gujarat, Samvat 365[1] [A.D. 309]; and this very inscription, although Sanskrit, together with two or three others from the same locality, strengthens the testimony of the Chinese travellers in the fourth century, that the spiritual and political power of the Brahmans was yet in an incipient state; for though the Vedas and Swayambhu are mentioned in the first inscription, the Puranic gods are unnoticed; nor is there the slightest allusion to Brahma, Vishnu, Siva, or even Indra; nor is there the usual introductory Hindu invocation; which would scarcely have been the case, had Brahmans and their theology and language been in the ascendant there; and this absence of mention is the more remarkable, as the inscription gives the history, qualities, and piety of the rajas who were the donor's progenitors, and of no one does it say that he was a worshipper of Brahma, Vishnu, Siva, &c., &c., as is customary in later Sanskrit inscriptions.

The inscription gives a field to a Brahman. In a similar manner, an inscription from the same locality, and of a few years' subsequent date [A.D. 323], does no honour to the Puranic gods; but

[1] This Samvat may be of the Balibhi era; which would bring down the date of this and the following inscription to the seventh century instead of the fourth. The characters are nearly those of Allahabad, No. 2.

says, that out of respect for those who are versed in the *four* Vedas, a village was given by Raja Prasanga, grandson of Samanta Datta of Gajjara, for the worship of the five—Jagnas, Bali, Charu, Baiswadeva, and Agnihotra. These personages are lost sight of in more modern Sanskrit inscriptions, and Siva, Vishnu, Ganesa, and others take their places. The Sanskrit is peculiar from being written in prose, and each phrase having a double meaning.

We have indeed Professor Wilson himself, in spite of his necessary predilections in favour of the antiquity of the Sanskrit, candidly expressing his doubts of the antiquity of the classical form of this language. In the introduction to the Drama of Vikrama and Urvasi, one of the plays of Kalidas, he says, "The richness of the Pracrit (Pali ?) in the play, both in structure and in its metrical code is very remarkable. A very great proportion especially of the fourth act is in this language, and in that act a considerable variety of metre is introduced. It is clear, therefore, that *this* form of Sanskrit must have been highly polished long before the play was written, and *this might lead us to doubt* whether the composition [the play] can bear so remote a date as the reign of Vikramditya, B.C. 56. *It is yet rather uncertain whether the classical language of the Hindu literature had at that time* [B.C. 56] *received so high a polish as appears in this present drama;* and still less therefore could the descendants have been exquisitely refined, if the parent was comparatively rude. We can scarcely conceive that the cultivation of Pracrit (Pali ?) preceded that of Sanskrit when we advert to the principles on which the former *seems* evolved from the latter; *but it must be confessed that the relation between Sanskrit and Pracrit has been hitherto very imperfectly investigated, and is yet far from being understood.*" A simple solution of Professor Wilson's doubts would be to consider the Sanskrit emanating from the Pali, the perfect from the imperfect, the polished from the rude, and the expressive from the simple; at least such is the natural progress of languages with growing civilization. The Sanskrit inscriptions of centuries after Christ have now fully borne out the Professor's doubts respecting the antiquity of its classical era, and his doubts are also participated by an authority great as his own, the Rev. Dr. Mill, who, speaking of the prophetic chapters of the Vishnu Purana which enumerates dynasties of future kings, Greek and Scythian, &c., says, "This enumeration, strongly indicative of the disturbed and semi-barbarous condition of affairs, which caused the suspension of all the ancient records, and in which synchronous dynasties might easily be misstated as successive ones; and the sum of years *readily palmed* on the Hindu reader, *to enhance the antiquity of the classical* and

heroic ages of the country[1]," &c.; and he concludes by adding, "Allowing, however, the least possible duration to the confused periods that followed the subversion of the Andra dynasty in the middle of the fifth century after Christ, it is scarcely possible to fix the subjects of our present inquiry [the Gupta Kings of the Allahabad and Bhitari columns] higher than the age of Charlemagne in Europe, if we suppose them identical with the Guptas of the Purana [Vishnu]." This is bringing down the classical Sanskrit to a late date, for the language of the inscription is not pure; and if the Kings of the inscription are those of the Purana, its own pure Sanskrit must, of course, be after the eighth century. It will be noticed that Dr. Mill has no reservation in supposing the Brahmans capable of literary fraud for interested objects; and this opinion by one so deeply read in Brahmanical literature as himself, is of momentous weight when thrown into the scale of others, less competent than himself, who express similar opinions, and whom I shall have occasion to quote.

The supposition of the superior antiquity of the Pali to the Sanskrit language, does not rest alone upon the inferences derived from the absence of ancient Sanskrit inscriptions, the Deva Nagari character being traced into the Pali, or the gradual approximation of the Sanskrit to the Pali, in the ratio of the antiquity of the former; but it is broadly asserted by the Buddhists in their sacred literature, and in the beginning of the fifth century of our era the Mahawanso expressly calls the PALI THE ROOT OF ALL LANGUAGES. "He [Buddhaghosa] translated, according to the grammatical rules of the Mágadhas, which is the root of all languages, the whole of the Singalese Atthakatha into Pali. This proved an achievement of the utmost consequence to all languages spoken by the human race[1]."

That the Pali was *generally* known in India is testified by the Edicts of Asoko in the fourth century B.C., for we cannot suppose that he would have attempted to *instruct* all India in a local dialect. The opinion which was then entertained by the Buddhists is still entertained by them, and Mr. Turnour shows that there is sufficient ground for asserting that a well-known grammar of the Pali existed in the sixth century before Christ. His words are, "The oldest Pali grammar noticed in the literature of Ceylon is that of Kachchayano. It is not now extant. The several works which pass under the name of Kachchayano's grammars are compilations from, or revisions of, the original made at different periods, both within this island [Ceylon] and in other parts of Asia. The oldest version of the compilation from Kachchayano's grammar is acknowledged to be the

[1] J. A. S. B., vol. vi. page 11, 12. [2] Turnour's Mahawanso, page 253.

Rupasiddhi. I quote three passages: two from the grammar and the other from its commentary. The first of these extracts, without enabling me to fix (as the name of the reigning Sovereign of Ceylon is not given) the period at which this version was compiled, proves the work to be of very considerable antiquity from its having been composed in the Dakshina, while Buddhism prevailed there as the *religion of the state.* The second and third extracts, in my opinion, satisfactorily establish the interesting and important point that Kachchayano[1], whose identity Mr. Colebrooke says, in his essay, '*is involved in the impenetrable darkness of mythology,*' was one of the eighty celebrated *contemporary* disciples of Gotamo Buddho [Sakya] whose names are repeatedly mentioned in various portions of the Pitakattaya. He flourished therefore in the *middle of the sixth century* before the birth of Christ, and upwards of four hundred years *before* Bhatrihari, the brother of Vikramaditya, by whom, according to Mr. Colebrooke's essay, 'the amended rules of grammar were formed into memorial verses,' as well as *before Kalidas,* on whose play Professor Wilson comments." Mr. Turnour then quotes the passages in the original Pali, which leave no doubt of Kachchayano being a contemporary of Buddha[2].

Elsewhere Mr. Turnour observes, "Buddhists are impressed with the conviction that their sacred and classical language, the Magadhi or Pali, is of *greater antiquity than the* Sanskrit, and that it had attained also a higher state of refinement than its rival tongue had acquired. They observe that the very word *Pali* signifies *original, text, regularity*[3], and there is scarcely a Buddhist Pali scholar in Ceylon, who, in the discussion of this question, will not quote with an air of triumph their favourite verse, "*There is a language which is the root* [*of all languages*], *men and Brahmans*[4] *at the commencement of the creation, who never before heard, nor uttered an human accent, and even the supreme Buddhos spoke it; it is Magadhi.*"

Mr. Turnour concludes with saying, "The foregoing observations, coupled with historical data, to which I shall now apply myself, will serve, I trust, to prove that the Pali or Magadhi language had already attained the refinement it now possesses at the time of Gotamo *Buddho's* advent."

[1] Cátyápana.

[2] Introduction to the Mahawanso, p. xxvi.

[3] While *Sanskrit* means "polished," "finished," "done;" the very signification of the two words, therefore, indicates the relative antiquity of the languages.

[4] The term Brahman used here, is possibly not in the restricted Hindu sense, but in the enlarged Buddhist sense, as applicable to men "*who walk in purity,*" without relation to caste or tribe.

It evidently, however, could not have been so copious as Sanskrit became, from the alphabetical characters then in use not being able to express Sanskrit syntax, according to Mr. J. Prinsep. The tangible proofs of the Pali inscriptions alone give sufficient weight to the Buddhist claims; and until the Brahmans can produce similar undeniable and contemporary evidence of the existence of Sanskrit, their claims must surely be wanting in the balance. The singular discovery by Mr. J. Prinsep, of the means of reading the Pali inscriptions, and the translations from the Pali Buddhistical annals by Mr. Turnour, have had a marked effect upon men's minds touching Brahmanical pretensions. Mr. Prinsep's successor as Editor of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in his preface to the seventh volume, page ix., says, "Since it (the Journal) was established as the channel for giving to the world original discoveries in the East, there has been opened an entirely new field of research in the Buddhistical annals of periods ANTECEDENT TO THE SPREAD OF BRAHMANICAL DOCTRINES WITH THE SANSKRIT LANGUAGE;" and at page x., he adds, "The history of India had been traced back to the period before the invasion of Alexander, and had been *verified* at each step by coins and by inscriptions; but the language of Bactria and of Persia at the period of that conquest was still insufficiently ascertained. The Bactrian alphabet was already more than half discovered through the comparison of letters upon coins with bilingual superscriptions. Several inscriptions, as obtained from the Topes excavated, or as forwarded by travellers from within the ancient limits of Bactria, were nearly deciphered, so that very little remained to perfect this discovery also [by Mr. Prinsep], and to establish, that the *ancient* Pali language, or something very closely resembling it, prevailed over all those countries."

Hence we learn that Pali not only pervaded India, but Bactria and Persia; and that this is no wild theory or hazardous speculation is attested by the very high authority of the Pali scholar, Professor Lassen, of Bonn, contained in a private letter of his, dated 12th February, 1838, and published in the J. A. S. B., vol. vii., p. 834, in which he says, "the legends upon the Bactrian coins are in Pali or Pracrit;" at least such was his opinion. With these proofs of the general prevalence of Pali from Cape Comorin to Bactria, and possibly to Persia; where are we to look for the supposed millions among the Brahmans, the Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas, whose religious duties imposed upon them the necessity of knowing and using the Sanskrit to read their religious works? Surely they would have left us some specimens of Sanskrit upon coins or rocks, if the people using it had

been numerous, or if the language itself had been generally diffused even amongst the few. Some of these works, however, betray themselves, and permit us to learn that the disciples of Brahma, compared with the population of all India, must have been very limited in number, and the Sanskrit language necessarily of limited use. In the Institutes of Menu are the following verses[1]: "The following races of Kshatriyas, by their omission of holy rites, and by seeing no Brahmans, have gradually sunk among men to the lowest of the four classes: Paundracas, Odras, and Draviras, Kambojas, Yavanas, and Sacas; Paradas, Pahlavas, Chinas, Kiratas, Deradas, and Khasas."

But not to stop here, the Vishnu and other Puranas, according to Professor Wilson, add to the enumeration of the tribes which had lost caste, and had become Mlechchhas. At page 374 of the Vishnu Purana, the Haihayas, and Tilajanghas, the Sakas, the Yavanas, Kambojas, Paradas, and Pahnavas, are enumerated. The Bhagavata Purana adds "*Barbaras*." The Vayu Purana extends the list by the Mahishikas, Chaulas, Dravas, and Khasas. The Brahma Purana includes the Kolas, the Sarpas, and the Keratas. The Hari Vansa extends the enumeration with the Tusharas, the Chinas, Madras, the Kishkindas, the Kauntalas, the Bangas, the Salwas, and the Konkanas. It is quite in keeping with the pretensions of Brahmanism to make Brighu and the Puranas say that these nations were once followers of Brahma, and fell. It is sufficient that they admit the fact, that when they were written, the nations were not followers of Brahma.

Professor Wilson explains who these several nations or people of Mlechchhas or outcasts were. The Paundras were the people of Western Bengal, the Odras those of Orissa, the Draviras those of the Coromandel Coast, the Kambojas were a people on the north-west of India, the Paradas and Pahlavas bordering tribes, probably in the same direction, the Keratas were mountaineers, the Duradas of the Hindu Koh, the Mahishikas and Chaulas were the people of the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, and the Dravas and the Khasas of the Himalayas. The Kolas were the forest races of Eastern Gondwana, and the Sarpas and the Keratas the people of Malabar. The Madras were people in the Punjab, the Kishkindas in Mysore, the Kauntalas, the people along the Nerbudda, the Bangas were the Bengalis, the Salwas the people in Western India, and the Konkanas inhabitants of the Konkan. The Sakas were the *Indo-Scythians*, who established themselves about 125 years before Christ along the western districts

[1] Chap. x., v. 43, 44.

of India, the Tasharas were the Turks of Tokharistan, the Yavanas were the *Ionians* or *Greeks*, and the Chinas were the *Chinese*.

Professor Wilson concludes his note by saying, "It must have been a *period of some antiquity when all the nations* from Bengal to the Coromandel coast were considered as Mlechchhas and outcasts[1]." So far, however, from this being the case, the mention alone of the Greeks affords sufficient proof that the time is subsequent to Alexander's invasion; and this inference is strengthened by the mention of China, which did not obtain this name until 260 B.C.; but in the Chinese annals we do not know of any intercourse with India until 126 B.C., when the Emperor Woo te sent a general officer to the Indo-Scythians, and the Indo-Scythians only entered Northern India in 125 B.C. These dates, therefore, bring the outcaste state of the greater part of the population of India, as described in Menu and the Puranas, to *that very period* when we know from Buddhist annals, Buddhist monuments, coins, and inscriptions, and indeed from the preceding Brahmanical enumeration, that little more than Professor Wilson's "*circumscribed tract*" was left for the "*not numerous* tribes" of Brahmans, and for the Sanskrit language which has constantly been associated with Brahmans, and if it existed at all distinct from the Pali, it would, therefore, have been little known beyond the "*circumscribed tract*" noticed.

As the whole of the countries stated in Menu and the Puranas to have been inhabited by an outcast population, were Buddhists from the fourth century before Christ until the fifth century after Christ, the opprobrious terms Mlechchhas and outcasts, liberally used by the Brahmans, may fairly be considered as applying to the Buddhists. To the above facts must be joined the comparatively recent date of pure Sanskrit literature, the oldest Puranas being asserted by Professor Wilson not to be anterior to the eighth or ninth centuries, and the most recent about three or four centuries old[2]; and "the philosophical writings clearly owe their origin to that spirit of sectarian rivalry of which the Puranas are the champions, and were perhaps the source[3]." Add to these the modern style of the Hindu Drama, and the total absence of historical works[4], and there is sufficient to give weight to the inference, from the want of ancient Sanskrit inscrip-

[1] The enumeration comprises very much more than Bengal and the Coromandel coast, namely, Western India, Konkan, along the Nerbudda, Punjab, Affghanistan, Malabar, Mysore, &c.

[2] First Oxford Lecture, p. 25. [3] Wilson's Second Oxford Lecture, p. 47.

[4] The Vedas do not come into the category, as they are understood to be in an ancient dialect.

tions, that the language did not attain its polish and copiousness until after the Pali had been long in use.

The ninth point is the simple assertion of a fact. None of the Chinese travellers either in the fifth, sixth, or seventh centuries make any allusion to the worship of the Linga, although Hiuan thsang, in the seventh century, says, there were naked heretics at Benares who covered themselves with ashes, and worshipped Iswara, who may be looked upon as Siva; but had his worship assumed its present character, it would scarcely have escaped the notice of the Chinese. The fact of the Sanctum or place of honour in the celebrated Siva temple of Elephanta being occupied by the three-faced bust of Siva, and the generative emblem being in a lateral chapel, would seem to indicate that the emblem worship was at least secondary, if not subsequent to the worship of the image of the god.

In the enumeration in Chinese writings of the multiplied heresies in India, the Linga worship is equally unnoticed. The ancient Western authors are silent on the subject, and there is not the slightest notice of it (or indeed of Siva) from the beginning to the end of Menu. The Linga cave temples of Ellora are admitted to be of the eighth or ninth century, and it has previously been shown that, with the exception of the temple of Bobaneswar dating from the seventh century, the rest of the celebrated temples dedicated to the Linga are after the eighth century; the antiquity of the worship may therefore be doubted, and the doubt will be enhanced by the following quotations from Professor Wilson, "The only form in which Siva is now worshipped, the Linga or Phallus, it is generally agreed, has no place whatever amongst the types and emblems of the mythos of the Vedas[1]." And "when the Buddhists, whom all parties considered heterodox, were expelled, their enemies began to quarrel amongst themselves, and in the *eighth* or *ninth* century a reformer named Sankara Acharya is celebrated for having refuted and suppressed a variety of unorthodox professors, and *established the preferential worship of Siva*[2]."

I must, however, do Professor Wilson the justice to state that, although he elsewhere admits the uncertainty at what period the worship of the Linga was introduced, he thinks it probable it was prior to the Christian era; but the preceding facts and circumstances bearing upon the whole question of Buddhist and Brahmanical precedence do not seem to favour the presumptions of so early a date to this innovation upon Brahmanism.

[1] First Oxford Lecture, p. 14. [2] Ibid., p. 28.

In case the preceding collection of facts has proved insufficient to establish the tenth and last point, Professor Wilson's authority will at least suffice to put the *preliminary* part of it beyond question. He says, "The history of the Hindu religion, although not traceable with chronological precision, exhibits *unequivocal* proof that it is by no means of that unalterable character which has been commonly ascribed to it. There are many indications which cannot be mistaken that it has undergone at different periods important alterations in both form and spirit[1];" and again, "They [the changes] are of themselves fatal to the pretensions of the Hindu faith as it now mostly prevails to an inspired origin and unfathomable antiquity[2]." The religion of the Vedas was domestic, and not idolatry[3], but chiefly of offerings to the unpersonified elements. There is no mention of the hero worship of Rama, Krishna, Govinda, or Jagannath, and their names do not occur; there is no sanction [nor in Menu] for widows burning themselves [Sati], infant marriages[4], or for the carrying the dying to the banks of some sacred river. Blood, however, stains the Vedas, for Dr. Stevenson has proved that they commanded daily animal sacrifices. Then followed the hero worship of the pretended incarnations of Vishnu in the forms of Rama and Krishna, which worship has "given rise to sects of votaries who think that the repetitions of the names of Rama and Krishna is a sufficient substitute for all moral and religious merit[5]."

Rama's chief feat was the conquest of Ceylon and the destruction of the Rakshasa, or demon king Ravana, and he met with and slaughtered Rakshasas on his way down to the South. There was a powerful king, therefore, and a numerous people both in Ceylon and the peninsula, not Hindus, when Rama lived. He was succeeded by Krishna in whom Vishnu became expressly incarnate "for the destruction of Kamsa, an oppressive monarch, and in fact an

[1] First Oxford Lecture, p. 4. [2] Ibid.

[3] Wilson says, "In a word, the religion of the Vedas was not idolatry." Preface to Vishnu, p. 2. There could scarcely be *images* without *idolatry*, and they are mentioned in Menu. "The king must appoint seven or eight ministers, who must be sworn *by touching a sacred image and the like.*" Chap. 7, v. 54, and chap. 2, v. 176, chap. 3, v. 152 and 180. The mention of sacred images thus gives a *modern* character to Menu as opposed to the Vedas.

[4] This is not the case in Menu, for the text says, "To an excellent and handsome youth of the same class, let every man give his daughter in marriage according to law; *even though she have not attained her age of eight years.*" Chap. 9, v. 88. Now, as the practice obtains at the present day this departure from the Vedas in Menu, would seem to afford further reason for questioning the antiquity of the Institutes.

[5] First Oxford Lecture, p. 23.

incarnate Daitya or Titan, the *natural enemy of the gods*[1]." The capital of this monarch was the now holy Hindu city of Mathura [Mutra], and we have thus a second instance of an heretical monarch and people to whom a Hindu hero is opposed. As late also as Fahian's time, in the fourth century, Mutra was not a Hindu city. The period of hero worship is followed by the religion of the Puranas, extending idolatry and establishing Pantheism.

Professor Wilson characterizes the object of these works as betraying "most glaringly the purposes for which they were composed, the dissemination of new articles of faith, and the currency of new gods[2]." And elsewhere he says, that the "practical religion of the Hindus is by no means a concentrated and compact system, but a heterogeneous compound made up of various and not unfrequently incompatible ingredients, and that to a *few ancient* fragments it has made large and unauthorized additions, most of which are of an exceedingly mischievous and disgraceful nature[3]." And in another place he says, "It is clear, therefore, that the great body of the present religious practices of the Hindus are subsequent in time and foreign to those that were enjoined by the authorities which they profess to regard as the foundations of their system[4]."

We need not go further, therefore, to justify the inference that Brahmanism, such as it is taught by the Puranas, and such as it has been known to Europeans for the last two or three centuries, had no operative existence or practical influence in ancient times. Whether or not its extended[5] practical influence commenced only on the decline of Buddhism remains to be considered. The admission of the antiquity of the Brahman tribe in India, and the antiquity of the Vedas appears to me perfectly compatible with the assertion that Brahmans and Brahmanism had no extended influence until the decline of Buddhism.

It is admitted by the most learned authorities[6], and even by the Brahmans themselves, that they are not aborigines in India; that they were in fact *foreigners* in the land. Professor Wilson's words are, "It is commonly admitted that the Brahmanical religion and civilization were brought into India from without[7]." The preceding

[1] First Oxford Lecture, p. 23. As Krishna had an encounter with a Greek king, (Vishnu, p. 566,) his era must necessarily be *after* the third century before Christ, when Buddhism filled the land.

[2] Ibid., page 26. [3] Ibid., page 35. [4] Ibid., page 14.

[5] I find there is an omission of the word "*extended*" to precede the words "operative existence," in the phraseology of the tenth point.

[6] Sir William Jones, Klaproth, Schlegel, Wilson, and Major-General V. Kennedy.

[7] Preface to Vishnu Purana, page LXV.

notes it may be thought offer fair evidence of the foreign origin of the Brahmans; but it may be permitted to us to doubt whether they necessarily introduced civilization into India. The oldest works upon which the whole superstructure of Brahmanism and Hinduism rests, are the three Vedas, "each an unarranged aggregate of promiscuous prayers, hymns, injunctions, and dogmas, put together in general, but not always in similar succession, but not in any way connected one with the other[1]."

This description does not appear typical of much advance in civilization, and to this must be added the fact stated by Principal Mill, that the Vedas are written in so antiquated a dialect (Sanskrit in its embryo state?) that the Sanskrit scholar can only read them by means of a Bhasha. The *collector* (for *arranger* he could not well be called) of these disjointed materials, Professor Wilson considers to have flourished about thirteen centuries before Christ.

Admitting, for the sake of argument, the accuracy of the date, is it to be believed that India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin exhibited society in an incipient state, when men were little better than the beasts of the forest, which they pursued for their food, at a period[2], and for centuries before it, when magnificence, wealth, learning, and the arts, characterized Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt, on the west, and China on the east? and if the Vedas be carried back to the era of the Book of Exodus, we have still the objections that India should be in a state of barbarism, while Egypt, and Assyria, and Persia, and China, teemed with a wealthy and intelligent population[3]. In the absence of data to supply motives or causes for the immigration of a tribe of *Brahmans* [if they had that appellation originally] into India, it may be permitted to us to suppose that it resulted from necessity rather than choice. The most probable would be some great political convulsion. As they are deemed to have come from the westward, the whole country between the Oxus and Egypt offers to us a wide field of selection: from the Medes and Persians they might have carried the Veda *veneration for fire*, and

[1] Wilson's First Oxford Lecture, page 6.

[2] Chushan-rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia, had the Israelites in subjection for eight years about this time, and must therefore have been a powerful king. Judges iii. 8.

[3] In Abraham's time (1913 B.C.), we find that the authority of the king of Persia, [Elam,] Chedorlaomer, extended to Sodom and Gomorrah; and that with other kings he marched to those cities. If the countries to the west from Persia are found to be populous, cultivated, and wealthy, why, at the same time, should the countries to the east be deemed in a state of barbarism, particularly when the Chinese annals assert the very contrary?

the worship of the elements, and the beard and staff and ring[1] of the Magi,—indeed, the division of the people into *four* orders, religious, military, commercial, and servile, according to Sir William Jones, who also believes the Brahmans to have gone to India from Iran or Persia; from the Assyrians, the *civil* distinctions of caste, the professions and trades not having been allowed to intermarry, and the manipulations having been handed down from father to son; from the Moabites, the worship of the host of heaven, with sacrifices in groves and high places[2], and particularly the *reverence for ancestors*, and the raising up seed to a man through his widow, by his *brothers* or *next of kin*, as evinced in the story of Ruth[3]; and from Egypt they might have taken the *civil* distinction of professions, and the caste-like distinction of the Egyptians, which disabled them from eating with those who were not their co-religionists. When Joseph made a feast for his brethren and the Egyptians, the latter could not eat with the Jews: "And they set on for him by himself, and for them by themselves, and for the Epyptians which did eat with him by themselves: because the Egyptians might not *eat bread* with the Hebrews; *for that is an abomination* unto the Egyptians[4]."

As all these nations offer some features in common with the Brahmans, and the practices noticed are of a date anterior to that allotted to the Vedas, there is no objection therefore to their having been collected and adopted by the Brahmans, carried into India, incorporated into the Vedas, and gradually worked out to suit their own objects, in successive ages, as fitting opportunities occurred[5]. They could not have got these practices in India, supposing the Buddhists to have preceded them, for NONE of the practices are common to the Buddhists. The political cause for the *immigration*

[1] Vide Menu, chap. vi., ver. 6, 41, 52; chap. ii., ver. 66.

[2] 2 Chronicles xxxiii. 3—7, 19.

[3] The singular coincidence between these religious feelings and practices of the Moabites, and the *injunctions* on the same subject in the Institutes of Menu, (Chap. v., ver. 148,) *are too marked to be accidental.* My limits do not permit me to enlarge on this interesting subject at present. The story of Ruth is dated from 1312 before Christ.

[4] Genesis xliii. 32. B.C. 1707.

[5] Professor Wilson has an important note at page 181 of the Vishnu Purana. He says: "The Drishadwatí is a river of considerable importance in the history of the Hindus, although no traces of its ancient name exists. According to Menu, it is one boundary of the district called Brahmavartta, in which the *institution of castes*, and their several duties, had *for ever existed: implying that, in other places, they were of* MORE RECENT ORIGIN. This holy land, made by the gods, was of very limited extent." This is precisely the view of caste I have taken in the preceding notes; with the exception of its unfathomable antiquity.

remains to be considered. The destruction of the Babylonian empire by Cyrus, B.C. 536, is of too late a date, for Buddha mentions Brahmans fifty years before that period. The anarchy consequent on the destruction of the first Assyrian empire, and the fall of Nineveh, at the end of the ninth century before Christ, is a more probable period. Those of the inhabitants of the city and neighbouring country, not slaughtered, or who did not escape, were carried to Babylon; to those who did escape, from the geographical position of Nineveh, in relation to Babylon, a ready flight to the eastward would be afforded, and a party may have reached India, either by Bamean, or by Herat; or the slaughter of the Medes, and the conquest of great part of Media in the eighth century B.C., offers another suitable occasion for flight to the eastward; indeed, the irruption of the Israelites in the fifteenth century, B.C, into Canaan, and Syria, and the *character* of the wars they carried on, may have forced tribes to migrate to the eastward. The first location is stated in Menu to be the eastern confines of the Punjab, and as the tract was circumscribed, the tenants must necessarily have been limited in number; they came, therefore, as foreigners and strangers, and settled amongst the inhabitants of India, who may be supposed to have known nothing of them or of their faith. They had plainly not Brahmanized more than a fraction of India, when the Institutes of Menu were written; and in the fourth and fifth centuries, the Chinese travellers still speak of them as the chief of the tribes of barbarians [strangers]. Bishop Moses, in the fourth century, travelled to India to see a Brahman, and did not see one; [he did not happen to go where they were settled;] and Scholasticus, in the same century, says they were located *beyond* the Ganges; and as he writes from the Malabar coast, it would just fix them where they fix themselves,—in the tract between the Sursooty and Cagyar.

Can we, then, with such evidence, combined with the absence of ancient Brahmanical inscriptions, coins, and monuments of art, believe for one moment the monstrous claims of the fictitious chronology of the Puranas, which would not only establish for Brahmanism unfathomable antiquity, but the general diffusion of its doctrines in India?

I have neither limits nor ability to enter into a lengthened consideration of the weight to be given to the sacred and profane literature of the Brahmans, as establishing for them a very early supremacy in India; but some few ideas occur to me, and those I will state. Much must depend upon the respective dates at which the works were written, which embody the Brahmanical claims.

Professor Wilson says the Vedas are the oldest works, and he considers them to have been written or collected about 1300 years before Christ. Some texts say the deities were only three,—fire, the air, and the sun; but Professor Wilson seems to think that their fundamental doctrine was monotheism, and that "it is almost certain that the practice of worshipping idols in temples was not the religion of the Vedas[1]." It is even a question whether Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva be mentioned or indicated in the Vedas; and *incarnations* are not suggested[2]. Modern Brahmanism, therefore, is not the religion of the Vedas. The admission of an antiquity of 1300 years to the Vedas and Upanishads, does not advance the claims of the Brahmans to a general diffusion of their doctrines, in the slightest degree; for the immigrants might have lived in Brahmavartta since the Deluge, and yet not have emerged, in the fourth and fifth centuries, from the circumscribed limits of their first location. Moreover, the concession of antiquity to the Vedas in the possession of a small tribe, does not militate against Buddhism being practised by the millions of India. As the Institutes of Menu do not mention the worship of Vishnu, Siva, Rama, or Krishna, Menu probably follows the Vedas and Upanishads in order of time; and yet this curious work has internal indications, which may be considered to afford satisfactory evidence of its comparatively modern date. These indications I submit to those more capable of judging of their value than myself. The first matter would seem to be the character of the Sanskrit used in the composition, which, I learn from Professor Wilson, differs little from that of the Puranas; and Menu may, therefore, approximate to the date assigned to those works, the more so as they are mentioned in it. It would seem to have been after the spread of Buddhism, for it notices *heretical nuns*[3]; and as female anchorites and nuns constituted part of the Buddhist system, this notice may fairly be considered to apply to them. Moreover from Menu's text we infer there were cities abounding with heretics. The next indication is in the mention of the Chinese, "as Kshatriyas, who had lost caste by the omission of holy rites, and not seeing *Brahmans*[4];" but as China did not acquire the name of China until the consolidation

[1] First Oxford Lecture, page 13.

[2] Colebrook, quoted in Preface to Wilson's Vishnu Purana, page 2.

[3] "Yet he who has a private connexion with such women, or with servant girls kept by one master, or with *female anchorites of an heretical religion*, shall be compelled to pay a small fine." Chap. 8, ver. 363. And Brahmans are commanded not to dwell in cities *abounding* with *professed heretics*. Chap. 4, ver. 61.

[4] Chap. 10, ver. 44.

of the empire in the second century B.C., Menu must date after that period[1]. In the same verse the Indo-Scythians [*Sacas*] are mentioned; and as they did not appear in India until the second century B.C., the same argument with respect to the date of Menu applies as in the former instance. The body of the Hindu drama is I believe *subsequent to the Christian era,* and as the following verse of Menu indicates the practice of *crowds* frequenting theatres, it may be inferred that Menu was written after the drama had been well established and become popular. "But she [a wife] who, having been *forbidden,* addicts herself to intoxicating liquor *even at jubilees*[2], or mixes in CROWDS AT THEATRES, must be fined six racticas of gold[3]."

Not only are heretics referred to, but the sacred literature of heretics is expressly mentioned, and this can scarcely apply to any other than the Buddhist religion. "Neglecting to keep up the consecrated fires; stealing any valuable thing besides gold; nonpayment of the three debts; application to the BOOKS of a *false religion;* and excessive attention to music or dancing[4]."

Another matter which connects Menu with that advanced period of corruption, which Professor Wilson looks upon as the *third* period of change in Brahmanism, is the repeated mention of images. An oath must be taken by "*touching a sacred image*[5];" and elsewhere, images are directed *to be visited,* and their shadows not to be passed over, and they are to be venerated[6]. The present universal practice also (although a departure from the Vedas) of a man marrying an *infant,* even under eight years of age, being sanctioned in Menu[7], gives an air of modernism to the composition. To the above may be added the severe restrictive religious ordinances with respect to caste, food, and exclusiveness[8], basing them on divine authority; which I think I have shown could not have obtained amongst the gymnosophists or sophists, if they were Brahmans; and if they were not Brahmans, what becomes of the pretensions of Menu and the Puranas to influence, beyond the small

[1] Tsin is the name of the dynasty which reigned over China [Sanskrit Chin] B.C. 249 to 202, during which the Chinese power caused it to be known, FOR THE FIRST TIME *in Central and Western Asia;* its conquests being extended to the Caspian Sea and *Bengal,* in the reign of Tsin she hwang te, the celebrated burner of books. The name of the dynasty has formed that of China. Klaproth.

[2] This looks as if a little jollity on the part of a lady at a jubilee were venial.

[3] Menu, chap. 9, ver. 84.

[4] Ibid., chap. 11, ver. 66.

[5] Ibid., chap. 7, ver. 54.

[6] Ibid., chap. 2, ver. 176; chap. 4, ver. 39, 130, 153.

[7] Ibid., chap. 9, ver. 88.

[8] The Brahman *eats but his own food; wears but his own apparel; and bestows but his own in alms: through the benevolence of the Brahman, indeed, other mortals enjoy life.*" Menu, chap. 1, ver. 101.

tract on the Saraswati river? The next indication of modernism in Menu arises from the position which Brahmans arrogate to themselves. The paramount object of the Institutes of Menu is the spiritual dominion and temporal advantages of Brahmans. Everything is subservient to this great object; they are "*lords of all*[1];" but it has been shown that in inscriptions of the fourth century [seventh?] they speak of themselves in humbler terms; and it is not until the tenth century, that they have "*feet for earthly kings to adore.*" I have already alluded, at p. 410, to the fact, that the *Institutes* could not have had any practical operation at the time Arrian's authorities wrote, from their stating that the most remarkable feature amongst the Indians was their not having any servile class, *no Sudras in fact;* all men being free and equal! A further indication of the Institutes being subsequent to the establishment of Buddhism is found in the *contradictory* injunctions to abstain from eating meat, or *taking animal life at all*[2], [these being Buddhist tenets] with the injunctions *to slay* and sacrifice to the gods and ancestors[3], although still not to the extent commanded in the Vedas; and another Buddhist practice recorded in Menu, is the command to the Brahman student to *beg his daily food from house to house, remaining silent*[4]. There is a verse of Menu[5] which enumerates those who are to be *shunned* at a Sraddha; amongst whom is a "*navigator of the ocean.*" Now, as Fahian, in A.D. 412, sailed with *Brahman merchants* to China from Ceylon, it could scarcely have been *in the face* of an interdict which places the navigator in the same category with a "*houseburner,*" a "*giver of poison,*" and a "*suborner of perjury,*" that Brahmans would have gone to sea. May not the interdict be fairly considered the consequence of the practice? and this would date the Institutes of Menu *after* the fourth century!

The last indication of modernism that occurs to me is the mention of the *Puranas;* and in the same verse, the heroic poems (although not by name) are referred to, which would give a date to Menu

[1] From his high birth alone a Brahman is an *object of veneration,* EVEN TO DEITIES; his declarations to mankind are *decisive evidence;* and the Veda itself confers on him that character. Menu, chap. 11, ver. 85. "A learned Brahman having found a treasure formerly hidden, may take it without any dedication, *since he is the lord of all.*" Menu, chap. 8, ver. 37.

[2] Menu, chap. 2, ver. 177; chap. 6, ver. 46, 68, 75; chap. 11, ver. 71; chap. 5, ver. 22, 28, 30, 42, 43, and elsewhere.

[3] Menu, chap. 3, ver. 123, 227, 267—271; including fish, flesh, and fowl. In ver. 28 of chap. 5, it is expressly said that Brahma created all the animal and vegetable system, for the *sustenance* of the vital spirit.

[4] Chap. 2, ver. 183, 185.

[5] Chap. 3, ver. 158.

subsequent to the Ramayana and the Mahabharata[1]. If the 44th and 45th verses of the 10th chapter of Menu, which make many nations *outcasts*, are meant to describe the religious state of India at the time Menu was written, then it would apply pretty well to the seventh century A.D., when Hiuan thsang was in India, and all the countries named in the verses were Buddhist; although Buddhism was declining in some of them, and Brahmanism was rapidly rising to power. The Puranas claim a date for Rama of 867,102 years, and Bentley fixes the composition of the Ramayana about A.D. 291 ! !

As mention is made in the Ramayana and Mahabharata of the Chinese, and Indo-Scythians, and Greeks, the same arguments with respect to the date of these works, from such mention, applies as well to them as to Menu. Professor Wilson has no doubt the Bactrian Greeks were intended by the term Yavanas, from their being usually named, in concurrence with the north-western tribes, Kambojas, Duradas, Paradas, Bahlikas, Sakas, &c., in the *Ramayana, Mahabharata, Puranas,* Menu, and in various poems and plays[2]; but Mr. James Prinsep gives a stronger reason, from one of the inscriptions at Girnar calling Antiochus the Yona [in Sanskrit Yavana] Raja. Indeed, the Mohammedan doctors at Lucknow, at this day, call the system of medicine they practise, that of the *Yanani,*—Greeks !

None of these works, therefore, can date beyond the second century before Christ, and they may be many centuries later. I have read a translation of some part of the Ramayana; but of the Mahabharata I have no knowledge. In going over the former, I found that Rama sacrificed to Rudra and Vishnu; the work, therefore, may be supposed to have been written after these gods had superseded the personified elements mentioned in the Vedas and Menu.

In the next place, the repeaters of the Puranas [Puranicks] are mentioned[3]; and the work would thus be brought within the age assigned to the Puranas. The hereditary possessions of Rama's ancestors [the Ikshwakus, who are also the ancestors of the Sakyas or Buddhists] are represented to be in the Punjab on the river Ikshoomuttee, seven days' journey from Oude, and the country was

[1] "At the obsequies to ancestors he must let the Brahmans hear passages from the *Veda*, from the codes of law, from moral tales, from *heroic poems*, from the *Puranas*, and from theological texts." Menu, chap. 3, ver. 232. And in chap. 12, ver. 109, a well instructed Brahman is he who has "studied the Vedas, Vedangas, Mimansa, Nyaya, Dharmasastra, and *Puranas.*"

[2] Vishnu Purana, page 194.

[3] Ramayana, book ii., sect. 50, p. 80.

said to be inhabited by *barbarians*[1]. The placing Rama's ancestral possessions in a country, the inhabitants of which were not of the Hindu faith, and within seven days' march of Oude, indicates that they were either a family of strangers in the land, or schismatics from the popular faith. As the Ramayana bears internal evidence of being written after the coming of the Greeks, this mention of the ancestral lands of Rama being amongst *barbarians* in the Punjab, [necessarily heretics,] would seem to have reference to the inferior numerical relation in which his family, and probably his tribe, [*Kshatrya,*] stood to the people at large; and as Buddhists pervaded India until the fifth century A.D., if the term barbarians apply to them, the previous inference with respect to the age of the Ramayana would be strengthened.

In the fourth part of the Ramayana, called Kish Khindhya Kanda, Hanuman, Rama's monkey-general, is described as passing the Vindhya mountains, and entering the cave of Swayamprabha. On looking into Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary, Swayamprabha is called a *Jain* of the future era; and this connexion of the name found in the Ramayana with heterodoxy, seems to have some colouring, when we consider the fact that all the caves in the Vindhya and Chanda mountains were Buddhist, and the earliest of the Hindu caves are referred to the eighth or ninth centuries A.D. If, therefore, the passage in the Ramayana have reference to a Buddhist or Jain heretic, the expedition to the south must have taken place after the advent of Buddha[2].

Of the Mahabharata I can say little: the argument with respect to date which applies to the Ramayana, from the mention of the Chinese, Greeks, and Indo-Scythians, applies to it. There are also two or three other points of some weight. Krishna is represented when Mutra [Mathura] was besieged by Kalayavana, to have gone forth unarmed, and beheld the *Greek* king, who pursued him: Krishna took refuge in a large cavern [*caves again!*] where Muchukunda was asleep, who awakening, by a glance of his eye reduced the Greek king to ashes[3]. This story has probably relation to some inroad of one of Alexander's successors, and gives a positive limit to the antiquity of the Mahabharata.

But it would appear that there is evidence of a more recent

[1] Ramayana, book ii., sect. 53, p. 107.

[2] Before quitting the Ramayana, I would notice that the Brahman author or authors have evidently some maritime associations; for the moon's action upon the tides is mentioned. Book ii., sect. 77, p. 459.

[3] Wilson's Vishnu Purana, p. 567.

character in the mention of the Bhoja Rajas of Malwa[1], or rather of Dhar in Malwa. In James Prinsep's useful tables, the *first* of the name is placed A.D. 483, in 540 A.D. by Sterling, and 567 by Col. Tod; and from Jain manuscripts, Col. Tod fixes the other two Rajas Bhoja respectively at 665 A.D. and 1035 A.D. The younger Arrian visited the capital Mingara of the kings of Cutch [Saurashtra] in the second century A.D., and found two Parthian families [Mithraic?] contesting and enjoying the sovereignty with alternate success, and no Hindu government existed. (J. A. S. B. vol., vi., p. 385.) In the second century the Sah's or Sahu's, which names are not Sanskrit, and upon whose coins are Buddhist emblems with a Deva Nagari character of the fourth or fifth centuries, may be supposed to have followed the Parthians; nevertheless, it is stated to be the family which is anathematized in the Mahabharata, in common with the Ati Sindhus [beyond the Indus], which would make the Mahabharata *after the second century.*

But there is yet another matter associating the Mahabharata with a comparatively modern period; and that is, the religious contests first with the Buddhists, and then between the Vaishnavas and the Saivas, involving the burning of Benares, the chief seat of the Saivas, by Krishna, which contests, in the first instance, had for their object, it is supposed, the extermination of the Buddhists; and subsequently the Hindus fell out amongst themselves, Professor Wilson thinks about the third or fourth century A.D.[2] This brings the date down sufficiently low; but Fahian expressly states, that up to the beginning of the fifth century A.D., Buddhism had gone on *uninterruptedly* from its origin; and Hiuan thsang makes no mention whatever of persecution: so far from it, he says, the Buddhists were living so harmoniously with the Hindus, that they were little better than heretics, and were evidently becoming absorbed into them. Bentley's date of 600 A.D. for the Mahabharata has thus some approximate support from sources entirely independent of those upon which he founded his deductions.

It seems to me that the existence and even early dates of the preceding Brahmanical works are not at all incompatible with the paramount prevalence of Buddhism in India, and with a very limited, religious, moral, and political influence of Brahmanism, little extending beyond the first tract in which its propounders were located. Not so with the Puranas; they must have been written at a period when Brahmanism was not only in the ascendant, but when

[1] Wilson's Vishnu Purana, p. 418 and 424. [2] Oxford Lecture, p. 27.

all evidence of a previous state of things was swept away or suppressed, and the means were consequently wanting to subject their extravagant pretensions to the test of truth: they must have been written, in fact, when the Deva Nagari had so much changed its form, that the damning proofs against them, recorded in caves and on rocks and stones, had to the public become *sealed* memorials of the past. I cannot but heartily concur, therefore, in Professor Wilson's opinion, "*that the oldest of the Puranas is not anterior to the eighth or ninth century, and the most recent not above three or four centuries old*[1];" or at least that they are long subsequent to the Christian era, and Col. Wilford says, they are certainly a modern compilation from valuable materials which he is afraid no longer exist.

Not a single fact that I have collected, or a single inference that I have deduced, in the preceding notes, militates against these opinions; and if the Puranas do embody older materials, they are but the legends of the inhabitants of the *Brahmavarta*, containing not quite so much historic truth, or instructive knowledge, as the Irish legends of O'Donohough at Killarney, those of Arthur's Knights of the Round Table, the fairy tales of old, the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, or the monkish legends! But from their prestige,—from the ignorance of Indian history antecedent to their date,—and from all Oriental knowledge having been long tinted, not with "couleur de rose," but with "couleur de Brahmanisme[2]," the intellectual vision of inquirers was efficient only through one medium; and it is only now that our views are in progress of rectification, from the profound research of such men as Wilson, Prinsep, Turnour, Klaproth, Remusat, Landresse, Burnouf, and Lassen.

As the Puranas are the text-books of modern Hindus, although much circumscribed for limits, I must quote briefly the opinions of some learned men with respect to their value, as guides to truth or mirrors reflecting ancient Brahmanism. And first, Professor Wilson. He says, "The determination of their [the Puranas] modern and unauthenticated composition deprives them of the sacred character

[1] First Oxford Lecture, p. 25. The Rev. Dr. Wilson of Bombay says the Bhagavata Purana, which is the *greatest practical authority at present*, cannot claim an antiquity much exceeding *six centuries*. J. A. S. B., vol. v., p. 310.

[2] The Hon. Mr. Turnour says, "When our scholars came into contact with the Brahmans, they were not only interested in confining the researches of orientalists to Sanskrit literature, but *in every possible way*, both by reference to their own ancient prejudiced authorities, and their individual representations, they laboured to depreciate in the estimation of Europeans the literature of the Buddhists, as well as the Pali or Magadhi language, in which that literature is recorded." Introd. to Mahawanso, p. 12.

which they have usurped, destroys their credit, impairs their influence, and strikes away the main proof on which, at present, the great mass of Hindu idolatry and superstition relies[1];" and with respect to their object, "In their decidedly sectarial character; in the boldness with which they assert the pantheistic presence [of some one deity]; in their numerous and almost always frivolous and insipid and immoral legends, they betray most glaringly the purposes for which they were composed; *the dissemination of new articles fo faith, the currency of new gods*[2];" "but they furnish authoritative views of the essential institutions of the Hindus, both in their social and religious organization, and they have handed down *all that the Hindus have* of traditional history."

Upon the subject of the extravagant chronology of the Hindus, the Professor says, "That the enormous periods of which it is composed are of a *purely mythological character*[3];" "and the attempts that have been made to account for them on astronomical computations, *have led to no satisfactory results*." These *extravagances* furnish an additional argument against the authority of those works in which they are seriously affirmed as truth. The value of this chronology is best shown by an extract from Prinsep's useful Tables.

Names.	Puranic Date. B.C.	Jones. B.C.	Wilford. B.C.	Bentley. B.C.	Wilson. B.C.	Tod. B.C.
Ikshwaku and Buddha	2,183,102	5000	2700	1528	...	2200
Rama	867,102	2029	1360	950	...	1100
Chandragupta, the Sandracottus of the Greeks....	1502	600	350	...	315	320
Chandrabija, the last of the Magadha kings......	452 B.C.	300 A.D.	...	...	428 A.D.	546 A.D.

So that, in the age of Rama, there is a trifling discrepancy of more than 800,000 years, and even in that of a real historical personage known to the Greeks, Chandragupta, of 1187 years! The Hon. Mr. Turnour, in his Introduction to the Mahawanso, p. 17, says, "Bentley, Davis, and others, have discussed and attempted to unravel and account for the absurdities of the Hindu chronology. Great as is the

[1] First Oxford Lecture, page 25. [2] Ibid., p. 26.
[3] Second Oxford Lecture, p. 56.

ingenuity they have displayed, and successful as their inquiries have been in other subjects, they all tend to prove the existence of incongruities, and to show that they are the result of *systematic perversions*, had recourse to since the time of Megasthenes by the Hindus, *to work out their religious impostures*." Sir William Jones calls the chronology of the Hindus "*fictitious*;" Col. Wilford speaks of it as "monstrous," and the "geographical, chronological, and historical part of the Puranas as '*absurd*,'" and thinks "*it difficult to fix the time* when the Hindus, forsaking the *paths of historical truth*, launched *into the mazes* of extravagance and fable; but it must have been after the time of Megasthenes, for in his time the Hindus did not carry their antiquities much beyond 6000 years." (Introduction to Mahawanso, p. xvi.) And in Hindu history, Professor Wilson says the "identification of Chandragupta and Sandracottus *is the only point* on which we can rest with anything like confidence." (Notes on the Mudra Rakshasa.)

Indeed, on the subject of Hindu history, Professor Wilson says, *the only* Sanskrit composition yet discovered to which the title of history can with any propriety be applied is the Raja Taringini[1], which professes to be a history of Cashmere, but its composition by Kalhana was as late as A.D. 1148, and Professor Wilson admits an adjustment of the chronology of 796 years, but Mr. Turnour shows that it should be 1177 years[2]. So much for the accuracy of the *only history*, which after all is not of any part of India proper, and which moreover bears *internal* evidence of deriving part of its *earliest* record from Buddhist sources by using Buddhist terms. Mr. Turnour sums up his review of Hindu literature with saying, "That there does not *now exist* an *authentic*, connected, and chronologically correct Hindu history, and that the absence of that history proceeds, not from original deficiency of historical data, nor their destruction by the ravages of war, *but the systematic perversion* of those data, *adopted to work out the monstrous* scheme upon which the Hindu faith is based[3]." Amongst its absurdities, it places King Asoko as establishing Buddhism in Cashmere 771 years before the birth of Sakya Buddha; Asoko's own era being antedated from 329 B.C. to 1394 B.C.[4]!!

It can scarcely be necessary to say more of the chronology of the Puranas. Of their astronomy, Professor Wilson says, "It is as incompatible with the scientific astronomy of the Hindus, as it is

[1] Wilson's Introd. Observ. [2] Introd. Mahawanso, page 19.
[3] Ibid., page 19. [4] J. A. S. B., vol. v., p. 522.

with the Copernican system. Much of the astronomy of the Hindus, properly so called, agrees with that of Europe; and advantage has judiciously been taken of the differences between the *inventions of their Puranas,* and the facts of their astronomers, to convict the former even by native testimony of *absurdity and error*[1]."

Mr. L. Wilkinson, a Bengal civilian, says, "The *Buddhist* system of astronomy and the Ptolemaic *closely agreed, as opposed to the absurd system of the Puranas*[2]." Elsewhere, Mr. Wilkinson gives an account of his having obtained a *Sanskrit* copy of a translation of *Euclid,* made in the celebrated Raja Jysing's time. It was done by the Brahman *Samrat Sagannatha,* and Mr. Wilkinson has the following words: "Our Brahman translator of this work, however, is guilty *of one of those base acts of plagiarism and literary injustice so common with all Hindu authors.* He coolly informs his reader that the work was originally *revealed by Brahma* to Visvakarma, that it lay for ages unknown, and he has revived it. This was between A.D. 1699 and 1743[3]." My notes may possibly strengthen a belief that this gross fraud is but the type of others in the Puranas, in Menu, and in the heroic poems.

To the above I may add the testimony of Mr. Wathen with respect to the value and object of the Puranas. He says, "In the course of antiquarian researches in India, we cannot but remark the very opposite course pursued by the Jainas and the Brahmans in regard to the preservation of historical legends. The Brahmans are accused by the Jainas of having destroyed, wherever they gained the supremacy, *all the historical books in existence which related facts anterior to the Mussulman conquest;* and we certainly do not find in the Dakhan and other countries which have been long under their exclusive influence *anything whatever prior* to that period; whereas on the contrary the Jainas have treasured up in their libraries every historical legend and fragment that could be preserved by them. May it not be inferred that the Brahmans, sensible of the great changes introduced by themselves to serve their own avaricious purposes in the Hindu worship, at the era of the Mussulman conquest, neglected the preservation of the historical works which then existed? for, as no king of their own faith remained, and their nobles and learned men must have lost their power and influence, no one was left who took any interest in their preservation; and it appears probable that at such period the Puranas were altered, and the novel practices now existing introduced, to enable those *wily priests* still to

[1] Second Oxford Lecture. [2] J. A. S. B., vol. vii., p. 227.
[3] J. A. S. B., vol. vi., p. 941.

extort from the superstition of the people, what they had formerly enjoyed by the pious munificence of their own kings. The Jainas, indeed, assert that the Puranas are mere historical works, that Parasurama, Ram chandra, and Krishna, &c., were merely great kings who reigned in Oude and other places, and have not the slightest pretensions to divinity.

"It may tend to confirm this theory when we consider that all the great reformers of the Hindu religion, whose doctrines and whose expositions of that faith are now followed, flourished about the same period when India was thrown into confusion by the invasions of those ferocious and fanatical barbarians, the Arabs, the Turks, and Affghans, or from five to eight hundred years back; Sankara Acharya, Valabha Acharya, and Ramanuja Acharya are all supposed to have lived between those periods.

"The great Hindu sovereignties falling to pieces, it became impossible to perform sacrifices requiring such prodigious expenditure; the kings of foreign faith no longer ruling by the Shastras, no check existed to the intermixture of castes, hence the Warna Sankara; the Kshatriyas, overcome and fleeing from their foes, emigrated into various parts, laid down the warlike profession, and engaged in civil and commercial pursuits, hence the present Kshetri, Prabhi, the Bhotti, &c., once warriors, now scribes and merchants; the Brahmans then, to raise themselves and degrade the other castes, *invented the fables* of the destruction of the whole Kshatriya tribe by Parasurama, a thing in itself incredible, but which story enabled them to substitute the Puranas for the Vedas, in conducting the sacred offices as connected with those classes.

"Further, if we inquire into the origin of the present most popular incarnations, as worshipped in Western India, we shall, no doubt, trace them to the era when the Puranas were interpolated, and *converted from mere historical legends into books* of Scripture. A new impetus was thus given to superstition by the discovery of these supposed miraculous emanations of Siva, Vishnu, and Ganesa, in the shape of Khundeh Rao, Wittoba, and the Chinchwara Ganapati.

"That great changes were introduced about the period of the Mussulman invasion into the practices of the Hindu religion, and that many as they now exist are *far different to what they were previous to that era, are facts which will become better known and ascertained as the ancient history of the country becomes more cleared from the obscurity* in which it is at present involved[1]."

[1] Mr. Wathen, J. A. S. B., vol. iv., page 484.

To the above character of the Puranas, Professor Wilson adds that "it is highly probable that of the present popular forms of the Hindu religion, none assumed their actual state earlier than the time of Sankara Acharya, the great Saiva reformer, who flourished in all likelihood in the eighth or ninth century A.D. Of the Vaishnava teachers, Ramanuja dates in the twelfth century, Madhva Acharya in the thirteenth century, and Vallabha in the sixteenth century, and the *Puranas seem* to have accompanied or followed *their innovations, being obviously intended to advocate the doctrines they taught*[1]."

This coincidence of opinion between learned Orientalists from opposite sides of India should be conclusive with respect to the character and objects of the Puranas. One curious circumstance affords undoubted proof of the interpolations which must have taken place, and which necessarily vitiates their originality. Although evidently of different ages, "*each* and *all* of the Puranas have each and all of them the names of the whole *eighteen recorded in the text.*"

But their worthlessness as records even of legends is shown in almost every page of the notes to the Vishnu Purana, for commonly no two of them relate the same legend exactly in the same way, give the same personages as actors, the same genealogies or succession of princes, or the same facts and circumstances.

After the production of such weighty authorities in regard to the unworthiness of the Puranas as affording evidence in favour of the claims of Brahmanism to a remote antiquity and *general diffusion* in ancient India, I feel that I may close my notes, satisfied that the deductions at which I have arrived, if they do not carry conviction to the minds of others, will yet afford matter for discussion with those reflective and unbiassed orientalists who are willing to pursue truth for its own sake.

A summary of the deductions from the facts and analogies collected in the preceding notes, can be comprised in a few words. Modern Brahmanism would seem to be a gradual and slow growth, for selfish purposes of aggrandisement, and religious, moral, and political dominion, from a small tribe of strangers who first located themselves in a small tract on the eastern confines of the Punjab; which tribe pushed its members and its influence into other parts of India, as favourable opportunities occurred; altering the traditions of their native country, *or inventing legends,* to suit their progress and their pretensions, which pretensions at first were simple and forbearing, but gradually became grasping and haughty, as their

[1] Wilson's Vishnu Purana, Introd., p. 10.

numbers and influence increased; until the period of the invention of the Puranas, when the confusion and anarchy consequent on the fall of Buddhism, previously the chief obstacle to their ambition, offered a fitting occasion to claim for Brahmanism the broad bases upon which it has since affected to stand,—an occasion, however, which in fixing the power of Brahmanism, simultaneously sowed the seeds of those debasing corruptions which are now its characteristics. This is but the melancholy, although instructive history of the priesthood of most ancient nations; and it is not without example in more modern times. The Brahmanical religion commenced in monotheism, and as its priests obtained wealth and power, it progressed to blind idolatry, and revolting superstitions and practices. The Jewish religion commenced in rigid monotheism; and notwithstanding the direct manifestations of displeasure on the part of the Deity, the punishment and dispersion of the Jewish people was consequent upon their incessant relapses into idolatry. Buddhism, in its institution, is abhorrent from idolatry, and yet, in all countries where it is now practised, it is characterized not only by its gross worship of figures of Buddha, but of endless forms of "spirits of air and goblins damned." The Chinese religion, before Buddhism, was monotheism, and it has now all the corruptions of modern Buddhism; and in comparatively recent times, we see how saint worship and the veneration of idols have grown out of the pure doctrines of Christianity.

In judging, therefore, of the relative antiquity of religions, it is not a well-founded argument to assert, that those are the most ancient which are the most gross and absurd in their superstitions, and those the most recent which are the most simple in their belief and practices.

The history of the preceding religions is opposed to any such inference, and the relative antiquity of Brahmanism and Buddhism cannot be determined by any such test. We have probably better data, in the absence of anything Brahmanical, of irrefragable authority, such as inscriptions, coins, and works of art, approaching within six or seven centuries of such decisive proofs of the absolute existence of Buddhism.

Boundless pretensions to an unfathomable antiquity, and the general diffusion of Brahmanism, meet us at every step in Hindu literature; but the very fact of these pretensions being recorded in the Sanskrit language in its perfect form, is sufficient to raise doubts of their having any just and solid foundations; the more so, as the chief of them are not met with recorded in older forms of the lan-

guage. Supposing, therefore, Brahmanism not to have been the *prevailing* doctrine in ancient times in India, it will be asked what then were the doctrines that did prevail? The Mahawanso says, that Ceylon was characterized by demon-worship; the Chinese writings state that the doctrine of the Tao sse pervaded Thibet[1] until the introduction of Buddhism; and in Kashmir the snake worship obtained, until superseded by Buddhism. In Southern India, the Brahmans do not pretend to any very ancient location; Central and Upper India, therefore, remain to be considered; and there it is asserted, that Buddhism *prevailed from all antiquity*. Sakya Buddha dates from the seventh century before Christ; but the Chinese travellers SAW the temples holding the relics *of his predecessors,* which would seem to carry its institution to very remote antiquity indeed. Fa hian saw, between A.D. 400 to 412, stupendous works of Buddhist art falling to decay through age, while Brahmanism [and, of course, Brahmanical works of art] was *progressing,* and not *retrograding,*—the one looking forward, the other passing by. Fa hian also declares that the year A.D. 412 was the 1497th year of a Buddhist era, and the year 1300 appears in an ancient Buddhist inscription at Khandgiri.

I shall conclude the consideration of this question with the following quotations from the Hon. Mr. Turnour's Introduction to the Mahawanso (p. 12). He says, "The rival religion to Hinduism in Asia, promulgated by BUDDHAS ANTECEDENT TO GOTAMO, [Sakya Buddha,] from a period TOO REMOTE to admit of chronological definition, was Buddhism. The *last* successful struggle of Buddhism for ascendancy in India, subsequent to the advent of Gotamo, was in the fourth century B.C. It then became the religion of the state. The ruler of that vast empire was at that epoch numbered amongst its most zealous converts[2]; and fragments of evidence, literary as well as of the arts, still survive, to attest that that reli-

[1] Fa hian. Note, page 231.

[2] Those who are disposed to trace the modifications of Buddhism, may possibly see a *reformer* and *innovator,* rather than a *convert,* in Asoko, particularly, as in his zeal he sent missionaries to propagate his doctrines to places where Buddhism already prevailed; for instance, he sent his son to Ceylon in the fourth century B.C., while the Mahawanso expressly states that Sakya himself had been there more than two centuries before that date, and converted the inhabitants. Previously to Asoko's time, the interdict to the slaughter of animals for food had been confined to the Buddhist clergy; but Asoko, in his zeal for the salvation of men, carried the interdict to the laity as well as the clergy: for this purpose his edicts are recorded on rocks in various parts of India, and for this purpose were his missionaries sent, even to Antiochus and Ptolemy.

gion had once been *predominant throughout* the most civilized and powerful kingdoms of Asia."

Of course, all these religions at the time spoken of had numerous heresies, and underwent various modifications with the progress of time, and the change in men's opinions; nor is it my purpose absolutely to deny the possibility of a very ancient contemporaneous existence in India to Buddhism and Brahmanism, the latter in its simplest forms, precisely as Buddhist heresies would exist contemporaneously with the parent religion; but, after a careful collation of facts, I unhesitatingly declare that I have not met with evidence to satisfy my mind that Brahmanism *was ever in the ascendant,* until after the fall of Buddhism!

With a few words on the genius of *ancient* Buddhism, and the possible cause of its fall in India, I shall close these notes. The Buddhists, like many other Eastern nations, believed in the transmigration of the soul. To terminate this probationary state, and to obtain final liberation or rest, *nirvana* or *nirbutti,* that is to say, the stoppage of the further transition of the soul, was the sole worthy object of man's existence! The only path to this object was through the grades of the clergy. The conditions were, the "*most perfect faith, the most perfect virtue, and the most perfect knowledge.*" It was insufficient for the laity that they believed in *Buddha,* Dharma, *Sanga,* i. e. Buddha, the law, and the clergy or church; of which there is elsewhere an analogue in "God, the law, and the prophets:" it was only by receiving the tonsure, and enlisting in the ranks of the church, that they even made the first step towards salvation. It was then, that, abandoning the world and its concerns, pledged to absolute poverty, to support life by eleemosynary means, to chastity, to abstinence, to penance, to prayer, and, above all, to continued contemplation of divine truths, they rose in the grades of the church, until some one amongst them having attained the most perfect knowledge, the most perfect virtue, and the most perfect faith, became Buddha, or infinite wisdom; that is to say, the soul ceased to wander,—its final rest was attained, and it was absorbed into the First Cause. It has been attempted to brand this doctrine with atheism; but if it be so, then are the Brahmans atheists, for it is part of their esoteric system[1]. Those of the Buddhist clergy who could not attain nirvana, in their renewed births were supposed to attain a form amongst the grades of beings either celestial or terrestrial, approaching to perfect happiness in the *proximate ratio* of their

[1] Wilson, Second Oxford Lecture, p. 64.

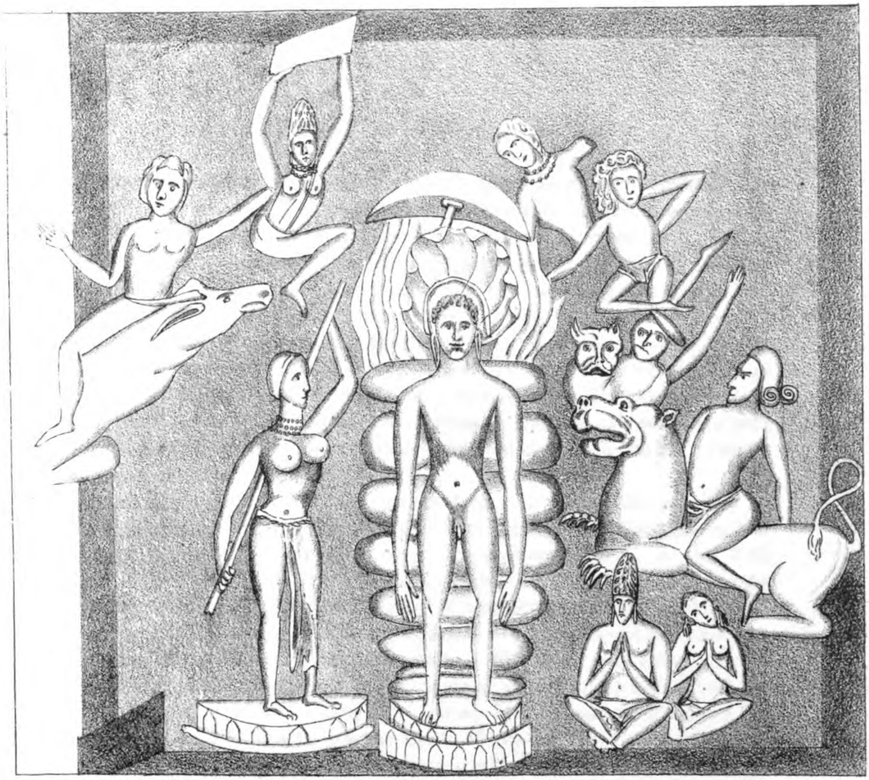
attainment of *perfect knowledge*, and in these states they might rise or fall, until *final liberation* was attained. The souls of the laity went on transmigrating through animal or vegetable life, without even passing the threshold to salvation. It was a strong motive with every man, therefore, to join the clergy, and even the painful lives the latter led, did not prevent the proper relation between producers and non-producers in the social system being subverted. The accumulation of the clergy was pregnant with evil. Their standard of excellence was infinitely too high for humanity; their tests for its attainment too severe; schisms occurred, disorders broke out, relaxations in discipline followed, and these circumstances, in the progress of ages, combined with the severe pressure upon the laity for the support of the enormously disproportioned numbers of the clergy [vide Mahawanso], loosened their hold upon the veneration and affection of the people: they silently fell off from a system which was so onerous, and merged into the Vaisya or Sudra ranks of the Brahmanical faith, precisely as is described by Hiuan thsang to have been the case at Patna in the seventh century, when "the Buddhists were living amongst the heretics, and no better than them." In this corrupted stage of Buddhism, the fiery Saivas mustered in sufficient force to effect its overthrow; the clergy, and such of the laity as espoused their interests, were either slaughtered, or driven out of India to a man, and the rest of the laity had little difficulty in transferring their allegiance from one idol to another, (for from works of Buddhist art, and from what we now see of its practices in other countries, it must then have lapsed into little better than rank idolatry,) and Buddhism thus finally disappeared from India, leaving, however, indestructible vestiges of its former glory, and many of its practices amongst the Hindus, as noticed by Dr. Stevenson; the Saivas leaving also, as I elsewhere have had occasion to notice, monuments of their triumphs[1]!

In case I am asked for the specific object and *cui bono* of my labours, my reply is brief and simple. The startling accounts of India by the Chinese travellers in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries of our era, prompted me to subject details so novel and unexpected to the test of such contemporary or previous evidence, as might be obtainable. The Chinese travellers have come from the ordeal unscathed, and the accumulated facts in the preceding pages satisfy me that the narratives of what they saw, in their chief

[1] Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. No. iv. page 205.

features, are as worthy of credit as those of the travellers of any other time or nation whatever, at least those of Fa hian. With respect to the *cui bono,* if it be proved that Brahmanism is neither unfathomable in its antiquity, nor unchangeable in its character, we may safely infer that, by proper means, applied in a cautious, kindly, and forbearing spirit, such *further changes* may be effected, as will raise the intellectual standard of the Hindus, improve their moral and social condition, and assist to promote their eternal welfare.

Sketch N° 2.



Groupe of Boodh & attendants on the right of the principal Figure, in Indra Subbah.

W.H. Sykes. Ellora, Oct. 12. 1819.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Buddhist Emblems.

BUDDHIST emblems or symbols, have been so frequently referred to in the preceding notes, that I have thought it desirable to arrange upon one plate, those symbols which it has been my fortune to meet with, and to offer also such explanations as my limited knowledge of the subject permits. Almost the whole of the symbols are taken from the fac simile coins published in the Nos. of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; some few from the drawings of the sculptures in the temple or chaitya of Bhilsa; and two or three from my own collection of Buddhist inscriptions in Western India. A knowledge of these emblems is of very considerable importance, as it enables the inquirer at once to fix, with some exceptions, the religious persuasion to which inscriptions or sculptures belong, with which even a solitary emblem may be associated.

The first line represents the various forms in which the chaitya or Buddhist temple for relics of Buddha's or Patriarchs is represented on the coins which have come under my eye. Triple hemispheres, or the first multiple of a triple hemisphere, (probably intended for circles,) are so arranged as to give a pyramidal character to a structure, and the apex is surmounted by various emblems, some of which it will be observed are also met with isolated in the last two lines of the plate. This triple character of forms is not confined to the coins, for I had occasion to notice in my account of the caves of Ellora, that *three* circles were traced in the chaitya form (two for basement, and one for apex,) on the floors of two of the Buddhist caves. This tri-unite form is probably (as I believe has been observed by Dr. Burn,) the mystic representation of the Buddhist trinity,—Buddha, Dharma, and Sanga, (God, the law, and the clergy or church.)

It is to be remarked, however, that when the chaitya or temple of relics is sculptured out of the rock, and then called a Deghope by Mr. Erskine, it is represented, not by the triple hemispheres, but by a very short truncated cylinder, surmounted by a hemisphere, and crowned with a parasol or an umbrella, or a complicated emblem, such as is shown in my drawing of the Visvakarma cave at Ellora; and such appears to have been the form of the chaitya at Bhilsa, and also of those Mausolea found in Affghanistan and the Punjab; indeed, the funeral edifices described by Mr. Moorcroft at Lè in Ladakh, do not differ much from the old form of the chaitya.

The second line represents various modifications of the form of a wheel, met with on coins in connexion with other Buddhist emblems, and on the sculptures at Ellora. It is also mentioned by Fa hian as being traced upon some religious structures. The Buddhists associated the idea of spiritual as well as temporal dominion with the wheel, and Buddha was called in Pali, Chakkawatti, or supreme ruler[1]. But its principal association was connected with the salvation of man; prayers were written out and pasted upon a wheel, and it was then turned upon its axis, with a rapidity proportioned to the fervour and strength of the aspirant for futurity; and each revolution was deemed equivalent to an oral repetition of a prayer; the faster it was turned, therefore, the faster prayers were sent up to heaven, and the sooner the sinner effected the expiation of his offences. Hence, the wheel was called the *praying wheel*[2]!

To understand the third line, it is necessary to premise that each Buddha, or patriarch, had a sacred tree, peculiarly his own, called his Bo-tree, under which, probably like Sakya Buddha, he was supposed to be born, did penance, preached, and died. Mr. Turnour, in naming each of the twenty-four Buddhas who preceded Sakya Buddha, mentions also the Pali name of each species of tree sacred to each Buddha. Amongst the number I recognize the Ficus Indica, Ficus glomerata, Ficus religiosa, Mimosa sirisha, Champaca naga, the Sâla, Shorea robusta, and Terminalia alata glabra: the want of a Pali dictionary disables me from extending the list. It will be seen by the plate that there is an evident although rude attempt to represent different foliage in the various figures of trees, and, consequently, different trees. We may suppose, therefore, that the prince, upon whose coin a particular tree appears, was the follower or disciple of the Buddha, or patriarch, whose tree emblem he adopts. In some cases, the appearance of different trees upon different coins may indicate their being of different eras.

With respect to the fourth line, the figures 1 and 2, in consequence of the one holding a staff and the other holding a trident, and on some coins being associated with a humped bull, have been deemed to have a connexion with Siva; but on the coins they are associated with Buddhist emblems. On coin No. 4, pl. 25, vol. iii., p. 436, J. A. S. B., the figure No. 2 stands erect, with his trident, as the only figure on one side of the coin, and, on the other, are the sacred bo-tree, and the chaitya, in the fourth form of the first line of the emblems, both indubitably Buddhist emblems, and the antelope, which is found in many Buddhist sculptures, appears between the two emblems: the figure cannot, therefore, be intended for Siva. But the same figure (naked except at the waist), *leaning on a humped bull*, is met with on one side of a coin of Kadphises, which represents a figure with a high cap and two ribands floating behind, habited in a kind of frock coat without collar, and putting something upon a small altar without flame—a trident, with a hatchet attached, standing by the side of the altar; the figure, altar,

[1] From "Chakka," wheel, and "Watti," the ruler or sustainer; the wheel being typical of the universe.

[2] Fa hian, p. 28, *note*.

and trident being surrounded by a Greek inscription. With such associations, the bull, trident, and figure can scarcely have reference to Siva—particularly as the emblem on the top of the Buddhist standard, No. 19 of my emblems, is just over the rump of the bull; and the altar-figure of the gold coin, No. 10 of the same plate, has two undoubted Buddhist emblems upon it—the swastica, or mystic cross (Nos. 8 and 12 of my plate), and the figure 34 from my Buddhist inscriptions at Junir, and figures 34 or 35 of these inscriptions, are found on several of the Indo-Scythic coins (bull and trident figure) of pl. 38, vol. iv., J. A. S. B., p. 630. The humped bull on the coins does not necessarily connect them with Hinduism, for the sacred bo-tree, and a regular chaitya with swastica, are conjoined with a humped bull in the Indo-Bactrian coin 3, pl. 32, vol. vii., p. 1050, J. A. S. B. In the so-called Hindu coin 1, pl. 60, vol. vii., the bull is before a chaitya; in coin 2 of the same plate it is before a bo-tree. In coins 5 and 6, pl. 34, vol. iv., the bull is before the bo-tree; in coin 9 of the same plate the bull is on one side, an elephant on the other, and my Buddhist inscriptions' emblem is above the elephant. On coin 15, pl. 61, vol. vii., of the coins from Ougein, the bull is before a bo-tree, on one side, and on the other is one of the forms of the Buddhist praying wheel; but similar associations of the bull with Buddhist emblems are very numerous, whether in the Indo-Bactrian, Indo-Scythian, Behat, or Ougein coins. The bull, and trident-figure, therefore, are not necessarily *Hindu types*. With respect to figure 1 of the fourth line of my emblems, it is met with on coin 23, pl. 34, vol. iv., associated with the Buddhist bo-tree and praying wheel; and on coins from Ougein, with undoubted Buddhist emblems, pl. 61, vol. vii., J. A. S. B. How little the trident figure on the coins will correspond with Siva is shown from the following description of him from the Hársha inscription:—"The three-forked spear in thy *left* hand, the extended axe in thy right hand, thy head-dress the celestial Ganga herself, a serpent the necklace about thy throat, never was so wondrous vesture as thine, O *three-eyed* one." This is Parvati's own description of Siva, her husband. He is also called "moon-crowned, fast-bound with its shining horrid ornament" [clotted hair].

Figure 4, a Tartar looking personage, is met with on the Kanerkos and Kadphises coins, offering something upon a low altar. In no instance does it appear to me that the altar sends forth flames. In very many of the coins, it has a clearly-defined margin or upper edge, and in some it is crenated or cleft, but without flame issuing from it. The Chinese travellers speak of every Buddhist householder in Affghanistan having an altar outside his door, on which he daily offered flowers to Buddha. The coins may represent this altar, and it has been already remarked, that if not Buddhist, the altar would be Mithraic, and in neither case would the figure making an offering, with the trident figure, and bull on the reverse, have any connexion with Hinduism.

Something resembling the altars mentioned by Fa hian exist to this day amongst the Buddhist people of Ladakh, according to Mr. Moorcroft, who says, "A column of red stone stood near each house to avert, it was said, the effects of the 'evil eye.'" Travels in Ladakh, vol. i., p. 403; and at page

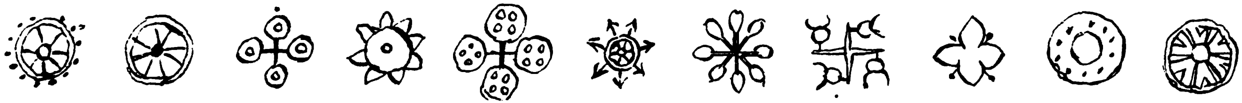
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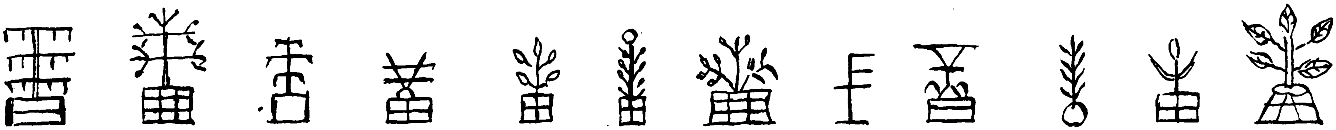
BUDDHIST EMBLEMS.



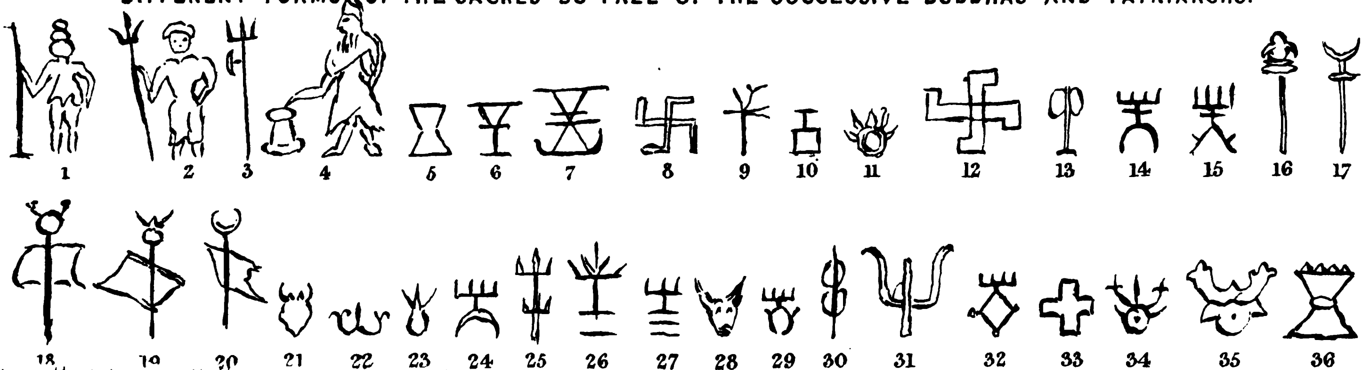
DIFFERENT FORMS OF THE BUDDHIST CHAITYA OR TEMPLE FOR RELICS.



DIFFERENT FORMS OF THE PRAYING WHEEL.



DIFFERENT FORMS OF THE SACRED BO-TREE OF THE SUCCESSIVE BUDDHAS AND PATRIARCHS.



157, he has the following remarkable words:—"The path then descended rapidly between a small temple on the left, and an altar or mound of masonry with two feet sculptured on it. These altars are very common, and perhaps indicate the former prevalence in these parts of the religion of Buddha, *which, more than any other Indian creed, employs this emblem!*" Buddhism would appear then, as in Fa hian's time, to continue the use of the altar. The altars of Nos. 4 and 5 may be connected with the initial emblem of No. 3 Buddhist inscription, from Junir, vol. vi., pl. 53, J. A. S. B., and No. 36 of the emblems. This form of altar can have nothing to do with the Sassanian fire altars, which, on the coins, pl. 14, vol. vi., is a pillar *taller than a man*, and with the flame distinctly burning on the summit. Emblem 6 is met with on coin 16, with bo-tree, and chaitya, and *bull*, from the Punjab; on coin 18 with the chaitya, bo-tree, swastica, No. 33, and *elephant* from Jaunpur, pl. 34, vol. iv.; on coin 48, with chaitya, bo-tree, and *antelope*, pl. 35, vol. iv. It is also found with the other Buddhist emblems, *wheel* and swastica, on the Indo-Bactrian coins, pl. 32, vol. vii. Emblem 7 is similarly found, on pl. 32, vol. vii., and on coin 1, from Behat, pl. 18, vol. iii., with chaitya, bo-tree, swastica, and *antelope*.

Emblem 8 is the celebrated swastica, or Buddhist cross; it was also the type of the Lao tseu or Tao sse, mentioned by the Chinese as peculiar religionists in China, before Sakya Buddha. Independently of this emblem being found on most Buddhist coins from all parts of India, it is also met with initial, and terminal, or both, on Buddhist inscriptions at Junir, Karli, and in Cuttack. It is also seen on the gold coin of Kadphises, pl. 38, vol. iv., the *trident* warrior and altar on one side, and figure with coat and *loose trowsers*, leaning on a humped bull, on the other; which has been construed into Siva, because on some of the coins of Kadphises this dress is wanting. Siva in a *coat* and *loose trowsers* would certainly be comical.

Emblem 9 is on coin 20, pl. 34, and on coins 34, 35, and 36, pl. 35, vol. iv., with a large chaitya on one side, and lion on the other, and generally on a large series of Indo-Scythian coins. It may be a further variety of the bo-tree.

Emblems 0, 21, and 22, are seen upon the Indo-Bactrian coins, pl. 32, vol. vii., associated with the other Buddhist types, chaitya, bo-tree, wheel, and swastica. It is also met with on No. 1 coin, from Behat, pl. 18, vol. iii., with the chaitya, bo-tree, swastica, and *antelope*.

Emblem 12 is an enlarged form of the swastica, and is seen as the chief emblem on coin 32, pl. 35, vol. iv.

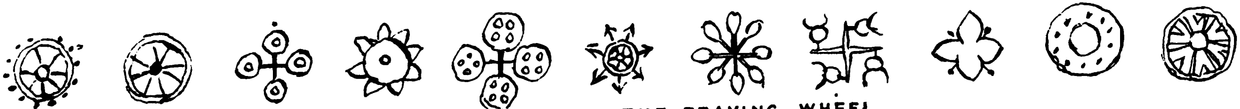
Emblem 13 is seen on the Buddhist coin No. 48, pl. 35, vol. iv., combined with the chaitya, bo-tree, antelope, and emblem No. 6.

Emblems 14, 15, 24, 29, and 32, are evidently derivations from a common original; 15 is seen on the coins 9 and 10, pl. 38, vol. iv., of the Indo-Scythic series; 29 is met with on the Kanerkos and Kadphises coins, which have the Tartar figure, with small altar, trident, and bull; pl. 12, vol. iii., with corrupt Greek inscriptions. As the chief figure on the coins changes in dress, and is with or without trident or bull, and *supposed* priest, the emblem slightly varies, still preserving its four prongs, until on the

BUDDHIST EMBLEMS.



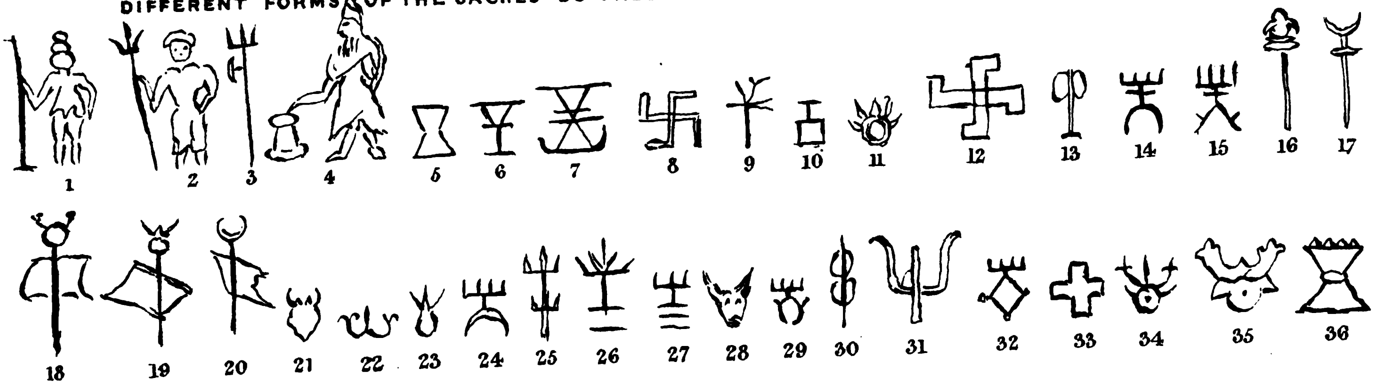
DIFFERENT FORMS OF THE BUDDHIST CHAITYA OR TEMPLE FOR RELICS.



DIFFERENT FORMS OF THE PRAYING WHEEL.



DIFFERENT FORMS OF THE SACRED BO-TREE OF THE SUCCESSIVE BUDDHAS AND PATRIARCHS.



Canouj series of coins it assumes the form of 32. In plate 13, vol. iii., the emblem No. 29 is on the gold coin No. 10, in which the figure has *two* tridents, one of which he is sticking into the altar, and the Buddhist cross is on the coin; and in another, the figure has a trident, but is without altar, and a figure is seated astride on an elephant. 32 is on the archer coin (Sri Mahendra Sinha), Nos. 24 and 8, pl. 38, vol. v., with a lady seated on a lion; as is seen in the Buddhist sculptures of Ellora, and generally on the Canouj series, pl. 36, vol. v. But the emblem, in any of its forms, is not known to be *absolutely* Buddhist; although the probabilities are that, in form 29, it is either Mithraic or Buddhist, from its associations, and in form 32 it is plainly derived from the preceding forms, not less from its own peculiarities, than from the male figure and accompaniments; but if the princes of the Canouj coins be the same as those mentioned in the Allahabad and Bhitari column inscriptions, then it would have become a Hindu type, as those princes reverenced Brahmanical Gods. Mr. Court says in form 29 he has seen it sculptured at Susiana in Persia. I have introduced the forms to show their transition through the coins of different dynasties.

Nos. 16 and 17 are associated with the emblem (29) on the Canouj gold coins, which have their types in the Indo-Scythian series, from the preservation of the figure at the altar; but the figure has no longer the trident, but the nondescript staff and head No. 16, which very much resembles the crest and staff supporting the lotus on which Buddha is seated in the Karli sculptures: or this emblem is replaced, as in coin 23 of the Canouj series, pl. 39, vol. iv., by No. 17; and as the Canouj coin 11, pl. 36, vol. v., which is in fact the banner staff (No. 20) of the figures on the Buddhist chaitya at Bhilsa. This coin (11) is looked upon as the first of the connecting links between the Indo-Scythic and Canouj coins. The gentleman at the altar has absolutely a modern regimental coat, and the lady on the opposite side carries a Greek cornucopia! In spite of these anomalous associations, the coins are no doubt the precursors of the more numerous class of the Canouj princes, whose ancestors probably leaned to Buddhism, but who themselves leaned to Brahmanism. It is not, however, to be wondered at that they bear foreign types, when it is borne in mind that the origin of the Rahtore rajputs of Canouj, according to the genealogical tree preserved by the Jains, is traced up to an Indo-Scythic [Greek?] prince; and a descendant from him, Nayana Pala, made himself master of Canouj, A.D. 469, a fact which does not militate against Fa hian's statement, that when he was there, A.D. 400 to 405, a Buddhist prince reigned. Buddhism had been undisturbed up to the 5th century; but when Hiuan Thsang visited Canouj, two centuries afterwards, the dynasty had been changed.

Nos. 18, 19, and 20, are the standards surmounted by emblems, which are carried by figures, on the sculptures on the Buddhist chaitya, at Bhilsa, drawing 28, vol. vi., p. 452. The same emblems, combined with an elephant, a lion, or an antelope, are met with on coins; for instance, the spear-head of No. 19, on coin 15, pl. 60, vol. vii. It is evidently also the same as No. 23, which is met with on coin 1, pl. 32, vol. vii., of Indo-Bactrian coins,

many of which have multiplied Buddhist emblems upon them. The spear-head of No. 19, No. 23, and probably No. 11, approximates in form to that of the emblem which surmounts the spires or apex of the Buddhist chaityas at Lè, the capital of Ladakh, according to Mr. Moorcroft, vol. i., p. 245.

No. 21 must be a decidedly Buddhist emblem, for it is seen associated with the wheel, bo-tree, chaitya, swastica, and antelope, on coin 6, pl. 32, vol. vii.

No. 22 is also decidedly Buddhist, for it is seen over the chaitya with several other Buddhist emblems on the Indo-Bactrian coins of pl. 32, vol. vii. It is also seen on the Nysam coin 30, pl. 3, vol. v., with an imperfect Greek inscription, connecting the Nysæan princes with Buddhism. Also upon a rare coin, No. 5, pl. 35, vol. v., of the Azos group: and Mr. Prinsep says it is found on the degenerate gold coins of the Kadphises group.

No. 25 is seen on the Buddhist Satrap coins, pl. 32, vol vii.; also upon the Buddhist Ceylon coins, Nos. 6, 13, and 14, pl. 20, vol. vi.

No. 26 is seen on coin 20, pl. 60, vol. vii. It may be one of the forms of the bo-tree.

No. 27 is seen on coins 24 and 26, pl. 60, vol. vii.

No. 28, being a bull's head, is seen on coin 14, pl. 61, vol. vii., of the coins from Ougein and Kaira in Gujerat, which bear the most unqualified characteristics of Buddhism in a seated figure of Buddha, the bo-tree, chaitya, praying-wheel, &c. This appearance of the bull's head on a Buddhist coin affords another proof of the trustworthiness of Fa hian, who says a bull's head was sculptured on the door posts of a Buddhist temple, which he saw in India, and he also says the head of the walking-stick of the Buddhist priests was sometimes fashioned into the form of a bull's head. But the bull's *scull* also occupies a place on the Indo-Sassanian coins (pl. 14, vol. vi.) over the head of the prince, with the unquestioned fire altar of the Persians on the reverse of the coin.

No. 31, the miscalled trident of Siva, is seen nearly filling up the reverse of the Indo-Sassanian coin, No. 11, pl. 15, vol. vi., with a man and bull on the opposite side; the bull on several other coins on the same plate being associated with the indisputable Buddhist emblems, the chaitya, praying wheel, and bo-tree.

No. 33 is an undoubted Buddhist emblem, joined on many coins with the chaitya, bo-tree, and elephant; on coin 22 from Canouj, vol. iii., pl. 18; on 17, with chaitya and swastica from the Punjab, pl. 34, vol. iv.; on coin 18, with chaitya and bo-tree, &c., from Jaunpur, pl. 34, vol. iv.; on coin 41, with the bo-tree, pl. 35, vol. iv.; also on the Buddhist coins 17 and 25 from Ougein, pl. 61, vol. vii.

Nos. 34, 35, and 36 are initial to three of the Buddhist inscriptions from the Junir caves, copied by Colonel Sykes, pl. 53, vol. vi. No. 34 is also found conjoined with No. 29, on coin 1, Kadphises in a chariot, and naked trident figure on the reverse; also on coin 3, with *bust* of Kadphises, and trident figure on the reverse, pl. 38, vol. iv. With respect to the trident, Prinsep says (vol. iv., p. 632) decisively, that the bull and supposed priest [trident figure?] are dedicated to the solar worship, and *not to Siva of the Brahman-*

ical creed. [Prinsep says (vol. vi., p. 1046) that the symbol 34, is in "*exact accordance* with the monogram on a large series of the Indo-Scythic coins, commencing with the reverse of the celebrated Mokadphises coin." This exact accordance, therefore, would seem to connect the princes of the coins with Buddhism.

No. 34 is also on the Buddhist coins 5 and 9, (bull and elephant,) from Behat, pl. 34; also on coins 34, 35, and 36, pl. 35, vol. iv.

No. 35 is seen on coins 2 and 3 of the Indo-Scythic series, pl. 38, vol. iv., with the Tartar head and trident figure, and is very probably, together with emblem 11, only a modification of No. 34.

No. II.

Chinese Account of India, translated from the "Wan-heen-t'hung-Kaou," or "Deep Researches into Ancient Monuments;" by Ma-twan-Lin. Published in the Nouv. Mélanges Asiatiques, tom. i. p. 196.

MA-TWAN-LIN'S CITATION OF CHINESE AUTHORITIES REGARDING INDIA.

1. The Chinese Emperor Woo te sent a General Officer, Chang keen, as ambassador to the Indo-Scythians B.C. 126. The Scythians were then in possession of Affghanistan.

2. Under the Chinese Emperor Ho te, A.D. 89 to 106, several ambassadors from India came to offer tribute.

3. Under Yan he, A.D. 159, strangers often came by the way of Tonquin and Cochin-China to offer tribute.

4. There is a tradition that the Emperor Ming te, A.D. 58 to 76, sent ambassadors to India to inquire about Buddha; the consequence was, that Buddhism began to prevail in China A.D. 147 to 167.

5. An embassy from China went through Burmah under the Woo dynasty, and *coasted* India (A.D. 222 to 280)—probably ascended the Ganges. The King of India was astonished at the appearance of these people by sea.

6. In the fifth year of the Emperor Wang te, A.D. 428, the King of Kapila (Oude), the beloved of the moon, sent diamonds and parrots, &c.

7. Under Ming te, A.D. 466, an ambassador from India (he received the rank of Lieut.-General) came to offer tribute.

8. In the eighteenth year of the Yuen kea (A.D. 441) the King of Soo mo lo (of India) sent the products of his country.

9. Under Heaou woo (A.D. 455), the King of Ghandara (Kandahar?) sent a superior officer with gold and precious vases.

10. Under Fei te, A.D. 473, the kingdom of Pho be sent an ambassador to offer tribute. *All these kingdoms were Buddhist.*

11. Under the dynasty of Leang (A.D. 502), the King of India, named Keu to, sent his great officer, Choo lo ta, with vases of crystal, talismans, &c.

12. Under Seuan woo, A.D. 500 to 516, (*South* India) sent a present of *horses* of a fine breed. The ambassador mentioned the products of India, and stated that it carried on a trade with the *Roman Empire* and *Syria.*—*The writing is on leaves of trees.*

13. The Emperor Yaung te (A.D. 605 to 616) sent a person, but he did not get beyond Tibet.

14. Under the Tang dynasty, in the years Woo teh (A.D. 618 to 627), there were great troubles in India; the King (Siladitya?) fought great battles.

15. The Chinese Buddhist priest, Huen chwang, who writes his travels, arrived in India at this period, and had audience of Siladitya.

16. Ambassadors from the King of Magadha (Behar) arrived in China A.D. 642, with a present of *books*.

17. The Emperor Tae-tsung, A.D. 648, sent a superior officer to (She lo ye to) Siladitya (King of Magadha); but before the arrival of the ambassador Siladitya was dead, and his throne usurped by his minister. The ambassador was attacked and plundered. He retired to *Tibet, which, together with Nepal, were under China,*—collected a force, Nepal furnishing 7000 cavalry, with which he resented the insults he had received, took the usurper prisoner, and carried him to China.

The Chinese found the kingdoms of the Brahmans, in A.D. 648, to lie in the Punjab—Pan-cha-fa.

18. Under Kaou tsung, A.D. 650 to 684, a man of the atheistical sect of Lokayata, from the mouths of the Ganges, came to offer homage.

19. In the third of the years Keen-fung, A.D. 667, the five Indias sent ambassadors to the Emperor.

20. In the years Kae-yuen, A.D. 713 to 742, an ambassador from Central India made three attempts to reach China, and arrived the third time. He applied for aid against the Ta sha (Arabs!) and the Too-fan (Tibetans). The Emperor Heuen tsung (A.D. 713 to 756) conferred upon him the rank of General-in-Chief.

21. Northern India also sent an embassy.

22. The third of the years Kwang-shun, A.D. 953, a priest of Buddha, from Western India, accompanied by many other Buddhist priests, representing sixteen tribes or nations of India, brought tribute, amongst other things, horses.

23. A Chinese Buddhist priest returned from India after a second residence of twelve years there. He brought with him part of the body of Buddha (relics), and an abundance of books. The Emperor Tae tsoo, who reigned A.D. 950 to 953, summoned him to his presence, and inquired about the products of India.

24. A Buddhist priest of India, about A.D. 969, brought *Sanscrit* books, and envoys continued to bring them.

25. At this time the son of the King of Eastern India came to China.

26. A Buddhist priest, Kwang-yuen, returned from India, A.D. 983, bringing a letter from Moo-se-nang, (probably Mahdu Sinha, a king of

Bengal, mentioned in the Ayeen Akberi,) also images of Sakya (Buddha) and relics of his body.

27. A.D. 983, another Buddhist priest came from India with books.

28. A.D. 984 to 988, a Buddhist priest returned from the countries of Western Asia with books. There was also a *Brahman* priest, named Yung-she, and a *Persian* infidel, who came together to the capital. The Brahman said that his country was called Le; that the King's family name was Ya-lo-woo-tee; that he was a worshipper of Buddha; and that he distributed gifts to the poor from the temple of Buddha.

29. A.D. 996, Buddhist priests arrive in ships!

30. A.D. 1025 to 1031, some Buddhist priests of Western India brought sacred books.

31. A.D. 1036, nine Buddhist priests came from India with bones of Buddha, sacred books, and teeth, statues, &c., of Boddhisatwas.

The preceding chronological account of the relations between China and India has also the following notice :—

"At the close of the year Kan yuen (about A.D. 756) the bank of the river Ganges gave way, and disappeared."

In the Pandu dynasty of Indaprestha, (Delhi,) the city of Hastinapur, then under King Nemi, was washed away. Nemi appears the fourth prince after Latanika, placed by Todd 1100 B.C., and therefore may be considered, by the same calculation, about 1020 B.C. It is not at all improbable the fact, with a fabulous Hindu date of 1020 B.C., may be the identical event recorded by the Chinese, A.D. 756, and a useful correction may thus be applied to the Pandu Table.

No. III.—*List of Ancient Inscriptions published in the Volumes of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, from January, 1834, to March, 1841.*

Volume.	*Page.*	*Location of Inscription.*	*Language of Inscriptions.*	*Date.*	*Character used in Inscriptions.*	*Religion; or Divinities or Sages mentioned.*	*Kings or Princes mentioned.*	REMARKS.
3 6	263 339 970	Allahabad Column	Sanskrit, but not pure.	About A.D. 800, from the character of the inscription, and internal and extraneous evidence. Many of the letters are identical, and have the same phonic value with the Tibetan alphabet, adopted in the seventh century. Many letters, eight consonants and three vowels are wanting of the modern Deva Nagari, and similarly in Tibetan.	Deva Nagari, in transitu, identical with that of the Gaya inscription, and also, like Mr. Wathen's inscriptions from Gujarat, and that of Mahabalipur, which was of great use in deciphering the present.	Siva, Ganesa, Brahma, Varuna, Vishnu, Rudra, Chandra, Agni, Nandi, Kama, Garuda, Balarama, Indra, Kuvera, Yama, Gandharvas, Nareda Arjuna, Pandu Bhishma, Ganga. No mention of Tantras.	Gupta, father of Ghatotkacha, father of Chandragupta, who is maternal grandson of Lickhavi, and son of Kamara Devi, who is the father of the King of kings. Samudra Gupta.	This inscription of a Sudra family is engraved upon a pillar which had been previously raised in honour of Buddhism, and bore a Buddhist inscription upon it. Dr. Mill, the translator, in consequence of numerous lacunæ, was obliged to supply the sense occasionally. The character is that of the Deva Nagari in transitu, and approaches that of the Gaya inscription, which is known to be of the eleventh century. A fallen king, Samudra Gupta, by means of his able minister, Giri Kahla raka restores the fortunes of his house; but it is only his father, Chandra Gupta, and himself, who actually attain royalty. Mr. Mill says that Brahmans have that honour as spiritual superiors, which we find assigned to them in the Ramayana and Mahabharata—not that excessive superiority and extravagant homage which in *subsequent* ages they claimed from princes; the Brahman here contributes to the honour of the king, not, as in some *later* inscriptions, the king to the honour of the Brahmans. The Mahabharata is alluded to; Nepal and Assam mentioned; and Dhanangaya was ruler of the north country.
3	342	Ougein	Jain inscription. Pali?	A.D. 371, but if the Jain era of Mahavira be intended, the date is B.C. 106.	Old character, but intelligible to the Jains.	Not mentioned	Chandragupta......	This is an inscription mentioned by Col. Todd, but not published: it was obtained from Jain authorities. The character required a key, but was known to the Jain hierarchs. King Chandragupta reigning at Ougein is unexpected. —T. R. A. S., vol. i., pp. 140 and 211.
		"	"	"	"	"	Chandragupta......	Is also the name of one of the Chohan princes of Ajmeer, grandson of Manikya Rai, whose date is fixed A.D. 695, and his descendant, Prithu Rai, was the last Hindu king who reigned in Indraprestha, or Delhi.

3 4	482 125	1. Mathiah, near Bettiah. 2. Bakra. 3. Radiah.	Pali	315 B.C.	Old Pali	Buddhist	Piadasi, or Asoko ..	These are notices, by Mr. Hodgson of Nepal, of three tall pillars, or columns, in North Behar, two of the pillars surmounted by a lion, and each having an inscription upon the shaft, which was unintelligible at the time Mr. Hodgson wrote, 24th April, 1834. The Bettiah inscription is precisely the same as that of Delhi and Allahabad, No. 1.
3 6	488 459	Sanchi, near Bhilsa in Bhopal.	Pali	B.C. 40? but the Samvat 18 may not be of the era of Vikramaditya.	Between Allahabad No. 2, or Kanouj Nagari, and Delhi Lât, or Old Pali.	Buddhist	Chandagutto in Pali; Chandragupta in Sanskrit.	Very numerous inscriptions are upon the basement of a prodigious chaitya, or relic temple, of an *hemispherical* form, built without cement, whose circumference is 554 feet, and, fallen as it is, its height is still 112 feet. There are three gateways, each 40 feet high. Capt. Fell thinks the date to be Samvat, 18, or B.C. The splendid bas-reliefs represent the dedication of a chaitya. The Emperor Chandagutto *buys* land for the Buddhist temple, and pays for it in *dinars;* and killing a Brahman is not so great a crime by *five-fold* as the taking away the land from the temple. It is to be observed of the figures making offerings to the chaitya that their appearance is exactly that of most modern Hindus; dressed in a dhotee round the loins and thighs, and naked from the waist upward, with a *turband* upon the head.
3 7	494 629	Iron Pillar at Delhi.	Sanskrit	No date, but scarcely earlier than A.D. 800, the character looking more modern than Kanouj Nagari.	Many letters agree with the Kanouj Nagari, but the general aspect is more modern.	Vaishnava, but no invocation or names of gods.	Prince Dhava, an usurper, at Hastinapur.	The inscription is punched upon an iron pillar, and the only thing remarkable in it is the mention of the Bactrians, called Vallekhas, being still in Sindh. From the *compound* letters *used,* the inscription must be long after the fifth century.
3	499	Karli, near Poona. Numerous inscriptions in the caves.	Pali	B.C. 543, by Dr. Wilson, but if the Salivahana era be intended, then A.D. 176, Dr. Stevenson.	Slightly modified Lât.	Buddhist .... The invocation is to the Triad; no doubt meaning Buddha, Dharma, Sanga.	Dr. Wilson says Vijara. Dr. Stevenson, Arodhana, lord of India. Garga, ruler of the Shakas.	These are some of the numerous Buddhist inscriptions in the cave temple at Karli. Drs. Wilson and Stevenson are not quite agreed about the reading. Garga, the "ruler of the Shakas" (Sakyas, Buddha's tribe), is mentioned. Dr. Stevenson mistakes the language for Sanskrit, which Mr. Prinsep proves to be Pali, from copies sent by Col. Sykes. The excavation of the temples, and gifts by individuals in aid, are mentioned.

Volume.	Page.	Location of Inscription.	Language of Inscriptions.	Date.	Character used in Inscriptions.	Religion; or Divinities or Sages mentioned.	Kings or Princes mentioned.	REMARKS.
4	135 181 211 713	On images of Buddha from the temple of Sarnath, at Benares, and on an image from Bakhra, in Tirhut.	Sanskrit, but not pure.	After A.D. 800, and that of Sarnath, probably of the eleventh century.	More modern than Kanouj Nagari; approaching the modern character.	Buddhist. Tathagata. Sramanas. Buddha.	None.............	These inscriptions upon images of Buddha, although in a comparatively modern form of the Deva Nagari, the Brahmans of Benares could not read. They contain the quaint compendium of Buddhist doctrines, commencing with Ye dharmá hétu prabhavá, &c.; but the Sanskrit text of the moral maxim has not been found in the Tibetan Pragna Paramata. These are the first Buddhist inscriptions in Sanskrit met with, and they are most remarkable, showing at their late date that Sanskrit was still imperfect! The mounds and remains near Bakhra testify to a former Buddhist city. From copper-plate inscriptions found near Sarnath it is conjectured the Buddhist temple was erected by the sons of Bhupala, a rajah of Gaûr, in the eleventh century. The image and inscription would probably be of the same date; and the character of the inscription corresponds to that date.
4	128 286	Kesariah mound, 20 miles north of Bakhra, in sight of the Gandak River.	Sanskrit......	About the date of the Bakhra image inscription.	Same as Sarnath and Bakhra character.	Brahmanical. The Avatars. The Sukta hymn of the Rig Veda, mentioned, but no invocation or Hindu gods named.	Chandradatta, son of Suryadatta.	The inscription is imperfect, but Dr. Mill says that the ever-living Chandradatta was born on the Sunday appropriated to the reading of the Sukta by his father Suryadatta. The Sukta has for one of its verses the holy "*Gayatri.*"
4	367	The mountain temple of Harsha of Shekavati.	Grammatical Sanskrit, but with some unusual terms, and some inexplicable words.	Erected A.D. 961, finished A.D. 973.	More modern than that of the Kanouj Devanagari, or Allahabad inscription, No. 2.	Mythology of the Puranas. Siva. The Pramathes. Munies, and Yaties, are called immortal. Indra, Kama, Nandi. The Naga's Rama. Balarama. Vishnu. Krishna Sambhu.	Gavaka, of the Chauhan family, A.D. 800. Chandra Raja, his son, A.D. 830. Guvaka, his son, A.D. 860. Chandra, his son, A.D. 890. Vakpata, his son, A.D. 920. Sinha Raja, who appears to have lost his kingdom of Shakavatis A.D. 961. Vigraha Raja of the Solar-race, not related to	The inscription is at a temple of the Linga (Siva), and Dr. Mill says the "character furnishes a definite standard from which the ages of other monuments, of similar or more remotely resembling characters, may be inferred with tolerable accuracy." The temple was built to commemorate the destruction of the *Asura*, or demon Tripura, who had expelled Indra and the gods from heaven; and, on the mountain, Siva was felicitated by the gods, whence the name Harsha (joy). The princes are but donors and benefactors; the Brahmans are represented as the real builders; their spiritual genealogy is

							Sinha Raja, and probably of Kanouj.	traced; one of them is made an incarnation of Nandi, similar in splendour to the great deity himself, and they are called "Lords of the Earth."
						Visvakarma. The portico of the temple is graced with the presence of *Gaya*, the holy *Asura*. Gayatri is called the wife of Brahma.	Vakpata appears to have had a hostile opponent, Tantra Pala, who he defeated; his younger brother was Durlabha. A Jaya Sri Raja gives a village.	India is called *Bharata* in the inscriptions. Siva is identified with his phallic emblem, and he is, also, called the *eight-*formed one. The sandal-wood of Malabar mentioned. Nudity, clotted hair, and ashes, characterize the Brahman teachers. The revenues of numerous villages are given for the support of the temple. It is singular that Ganapati, the son of Siva, is not mentioned; seeming to indicate that his worship was not yet established.
4	481	Balabhi, in Gujarat. Copper plates.	Not mentioned.	A.D. 328?	Resembles Dr. Wilkins' Gaya inscriptions of eleventh century, but nearer Kanouj Nagari of eighth.	No invocation to the gods Mahesvara, Menu, Dhurma Raja, or Yudhisthira, Bhagavata (or Vishnu), Surya, Svara (or Cupid), Kuvera, Ganga, Mahabharata, is quoted.	*Generals.* Bhatarka. Dhara Sena. *Maharajas.* Drona Sinha. Dhruva Sena 1st. Dharapattah. Griha Sena. Sridhara Sena 1st. Siladitya 1st. Charagriha 1st. Sridhara Sena 2nd. Dhruva Sena 2nd. Sridhara Sena 3rd. Siladitya 2nd. Two Princes. Charagriha 2nd. Siladitya 3rd. Siladitya Musalla.	These are grants of land to Brahman priests. Mr. Wathen, like Mr. Prinsep, refers the modern Deva Nagari, through various changes, which he shows in inscriptions of different ages, to the old Pali, Lât, or Column character. The era used in the inscription is the Valabhi era, corresponding to the 375th of Vikramditya, or A.D. 319. Balabhi, or Balhara, is represented to have been destroyed under Siladitya 3rd, A.D. 524, by a Bactro-Indian army; it is supposed to be the Byzantium of Ptolemy. In the first inscription, Dhruva Sena is a follower of Bhagavata, and Dharapattah of the sun; all the rest worship Siva. The Brahmans are not spoken of with any respect or veneration, as the grants simply say, I give to such and such a Brahman. Very considerable doubt exists with respect to the accuracy of the date of the inscription. The character corresponds to that of the eighth century. When Hiuan thsang was at Balabhi in the seventh century, there were 100 Buddhist monasteries, and 6000 Buddhist priests; and the king, although a Kshatriya, was a Buddhist.
"	"	Sidhapura. Copper plates; much defaced.		A.D. 559?	....	....		
5	341	Stone slab in the fort of Chunar, near Benares.	Sanskrit, and no mention of it being ungrammatical.	A.D. 1333	Modern Deva Nagari, very slightly altered.	Opens with a salutation to Ganapati. Sambhu, Bhagavati (the goddess Anna Purna Devi).	Devaka, father of Devana, father of Chandragana, elder brother of Swami Raja.	The inscription records the attacks on the fort of Chunar by Mahommed Shah Emperor of Delhi, defended by Svami, a Raja of Benares, who, together with his progenitors, are unknown in history. The inscription is valuable, as showing

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Volume.	Page.	Location of Inscription.	Language of Inscriptions.	Date.	Character used in Inscriptions.	Religion; or Divinities or Sages mentioned.	Kings or Princes mentioned.	REMARKS.
								the state of the Deva Nagari in the fourteenth century. The invocation to Ganapati shows that his worship was now established, which probably was not the case at the time of the Harsha inscription.
5	348 556	Caves at Adjunta	Pali?	Not mentioned ..	One resembling Balibhi, and one in the Seoni parallelogram-headed character, which is of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.	Buddhist	None; but the sculptures and paintings evidently represent royal personages and royal doings.	The first is one of the numerous inscriptions in the Buddhist caves at Adjunta, and is of interest from the character resembling that of Wathen's Balibhi inscription, which, with others, show the gradations of the character upwards into antiquity. The caves are remarkable for their paintings as well as sculpture. Capt. Gresley says, amongst the paintings there are three *Chinese figures!*
5	377	Piplianagar in Bhopal, on copper plates.	Sanskrit	A.D. 1210	Deva Nagari, little altered.	Instead of the usual Hindu invocation, it is to Virtue. The snake Shesha, Parasurama, Rama, Sita, Yudhishthira, Bhima, Kansa, Indra, Saraswati, Sambhu.	Raja Bhoja Deva. Son, Udayaditya. Naravarma. Yashovarma, 1137, A.D. Ajayavarma, 1143, A.D. Vindhayavarma. Son, Amushyavarma. Subhatavarma. Son, Arjuna, living.	This inscription was communicated by Mr. L. Wilkinson. It gives away the revenues of a village to a Brahman family by the young Raja Arjuna. It is remarkable for the frequent reference to the heroes of the poems, and the absence of the usual reverential notices of the now popular Hindu gods. Fire-arms in the thirteenth century could not have been used, for the successes in war of the princes are owing to flights of arrows. Subhatavarma appears to have destroyed Patan in Gujarat. The term Pergannah being used, the Mahomedans must have previously arranged the districts. The capital of the Princes was Mandu, or Oujein.
5	482	Asirgarh, a fort in Kandesh, on a seal.	Sanskrit, but not quite grammatical.	Tenth or eleventh century, by the character.	Deva Nagari, resembling the Ga[ya, or Gaur, approaching Allahabad No. 2.	There is not any invocation, or any mention of gods, but only munis; but there is a bull on the seal, and two men, one with a sceptre and axe, and the other with umbrella and axe.	*The great Kings*— Hari Varma. Son, Aditya Varma. Do. Isvara Varma. Do. Sinha Varma. Do. Kharva Varma, who is called King of Kings.	Mention is made that the Rajas Aditya Varma and Isvara Varma were married to the eldest daughters of the *Gupta race*, which may be that of the Allahabad inscriptions and Kanouj coins. If so, the Deva Nagari of the inscription would confirm the belief of the Guptas being of the ninth and tenth centuries. The Rajas were probably Princes of Kandesh.
5	347	Barahat and Gopesvara in Garh-	Semi-barbarous Sanskrit.	Not mentioned ..	The oldest inscriptions ap-	No religious invocation beyond Svasti	Names not made out in the old in-	These tridents with their inscriptions are instructive: they are precisely of the

	485	wal, upon two bronze tridents, respectively twenty-one and sixteen feet high.			proaching Allahabad No. 2, and the others nearly modern Deva Nagari.	Sri, and no mention of *Hindu gods whatever*. In the more *recent* inscription on the Gopesvara trident, the invocation is *Aum* Svasti, and the spot is called sacred to Mahadeva.	scription; but in the recent Sanskrit inscription from Gopesvara, the name of Prince Anik Mall occurs.	form of the trident on the Indo-Scythic coins, with the axe attached to the shaft: the oldest inscriptions—which, however, from the form of the Deva Nagari, cannot be before the seventh century—are *in relief* upon the shaft, and make no mention of Mahadeva or Hinduism; but the more recent are *cut into* the trident, which must have been taken down to admit of the incision. In one of these is the *Aum* and the name of Mahadeva, which had no association originally with the tridents. These facts strengthen the inference that the trident on the coins has nothing to do with Hinduism.
5	554	Harburenni, and other places, in Ceylon: numerous rock inscriptions.	Pali	From 104 B.C. to twelfth century.	From the Lât to the modern Tamul character.	Buddhist	Not stated	Sir Wilmot Horton says, there are thousands of these inscriptions in Ceylon, and they exhibit the Deva Nagari in all its transitions. The inscriptions would appear to be much defaced, and little is yet made of them.
5	556	Adjunta caves in Kandesh: several inscriptions.	Pali	Before the eighth century, A.D.	Intermediate, between the Lât and Allahabad No. 2.	Buddhist; one of the inscriptions commencing with the formula, "Ye dharma."	Not stated	These inscriptions appear to be of different ages, from variations in the character; but, owing to mutilations, Mr. Prinsep has done little with them. One of them is in the Seoni parallelogram-headed characters. It is very curious, that the figures of CHINESE are represented in the fresco paintings in the caves. The paintings are admirable for their spirit and variety of subjects.
5	660	Nagarjuna cave, Buddha-Gaya: numerous inscriptions.	Sanskrit; but requiring the aid of a Pali scholar to translate it.	Samvat 73 or 74 of the Gopala or Bhupala dynasty of Gaur, corresponding to 1197 A.D., or 1140?	Gaur alphabet, the immediate parent of the modern Bengali, and like the Harsha.	Salutation to Buddha, *Mahvira Swami*. Sahasrapada, the treasurer of the Raja, is called a conscientious *Bodhisatwa*.	Asoka Chandra Deva; his brother, Dasaratha Kumara, and Sri Mat Lakshmana. Seva Deva.	This inscription is of considerable importance, as, by its era of 73, it confirms Mr. Colebroke's correction by a thousand years of Dr. Wilkins's date of the Gaya inscription translated by the latter. It is of great importance, also, as it distinctly shows the Buddhist impression in those days of what Nibutti or Nirvana meant, namely—as expressed in the inscription—"*the absorption of his* (the writer's) *soul in the Supreme Being*," disposing of the question of Buddhist atheim. The inscription shows that the Buddhists had still a hold in India in the twelfth century. It was recorded by Sahasrapada, the treasurer of the Raja Dasaratha Kumara. The Princes are not met with in Hindu history.

Volume.	*Page.*	*Location of Inscriptions.*	*Language of Inscriptions.*	*Date.*	*Character used in Inscriptions.*	*Religion; or Divinities or Sages mentioned.*	*Kings or Princes mentioned.*	REMARKS.
5	657	Nagarjuna, at Gaya.	Sanskrit	Eleventh century?	Gaur	Buddhist	Yagna Varma, and his grandson Ananta Varma.	The cave called Nagarjuna, after a celebrated Buddhist patriarch, is said in the inscription to have been excavated by Ananta Varma.
	"	On images of Buddha at Gaya.	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated.....	Buddhist	Raja Vijyabhadra ..	By the inscriptions on the images, one of them was raised by the Raja Vijyabhadra, and the other by Jaga Sen and Kumara Sen, sons of Punyabhadra, private persons. The Brahmans *now* call a figure of Buddha—of course a *male*—and with the Buddhist text "*Ye dharma hetu,*" &c., upon it, the Hindu *goddess* Saraswati!!
	"	On a stone at Buddha-Gaya.	Sanskrit	Samvat 1005, or A.D. 948.	Allahabad No. 2...	Buddhist	Not stated	The inscription is said, by Dr. Wilkins, to purport that the *temple* of Buddha, at Buddha-Gaya, was *built* by Amara Deva, the author of the Amara Kosha; but it must mean *restored*, as it was seen before Amara Deva's time by Fa-hian.
		On a stone at Buddha Gaya.	Burmese	A.D. 1305	Pali	Buddhist	The Burmese King is mentioned.	The Burmese inscription says the Chaitya, or temple, was first built by Asoko, 218 years after Buddha, or B.C. 325; often restored, and finally restored by the Burmese Envoys, A.D. 1305.
5 6	661 1	Bhitari Lât, or Pillar, Ghazipur.	Not pure Sanskrit, nor easily intelligible.	Subsequent to Allahabad No. 2; and Dr. Mill says not earlier than Charlemagne in Europe, A.D. 800, if the Guptas be those of the Puranas. Moreover, the mention of the sectarial worship of the Bhagavata and Tantras makes the date comparatively modern.	Same as Allahabad No. 2, or Kanouj Nagari, with numerous misspellings.	No invocation. Indra, Varuna, Yama, Krishna, Siva, Sita, the Tantras, Devaki, the mother of Krishna, Rudra; but loads of forest timber are collected for the completion of sacrifices for Indra, Varuna, and Yama only; and not for Siva or Vishnu. These last, therefore, may have had honour, but not sacrifice.	The great King, Gupta. His son, do., Ghatot Kacha. Do., King of Kings, Chandra Gupta. Do., King of Kings, Samudra Gupta. Do., do., Chandra Gupta 2nd. Do., do., Cumara Gupta. Do. Skanda Gupta. A minor, Mahendra Gupta?	This inscription, like that of Allahabad, No. 2, is intruded on a Buddhist column, and is subsequent to it, as it carries on the Gupta family from Samudra to the boy Mahendra. Chandra Gupta 2nd, and Kumara Gupta followed Vishnu worship, but Skanda Gupta attached himself to the opposite doctrines, *now so prevalent*, of the mysterious and sanguinary Tantras. Skanda Gupta was dispossessed of his kingdom, *for a time*, by a treacherous minister. This was the case when the Chinese traveller, Hiuan theang reached Behar, in the seventh century, and he may refer to the event mentioned in the inscription; but he calls the King by a name construed to be Siladitya, and no king of this name reigned in Behar; nor nearer than in

								Gujarat. The Guptas, probably, succeeded the Buddhist Kings of Behar. The absence of the insertion of the Tantras in the Allahabad inscription, and their insertion here, would seem to indicate the period of the origin of this worship.
5	726	Stone slab in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.	Not Sanskrit; or so ungrammatical as to be scarcely intelligible.	No date, but after eleventh century, from the character.	Deva Nagari of the Harsha inscription nearly.	Invocation to Krishna, as son of Vasu Deva. Narayana, as Lord of Lords and Creator. Vedas. Vishnu.	None mentioned ..	The inscription defines the boundaries of lands; apparently belonging to a temple of Vishnu. The inscription is only valuable as showing the variation in the form of the letters kh, gh, and a.
5	727	Seoni, in the Nerbudda or Nermada district, on five copper-plates.	Questionable Sanskrit, often unintelligible.	Eighteenth year of Pravara dhaman rajya Samvat. A local era; after Mahendra Gupta of Kanouj.	Allahabad No. 2, with an *open parallelogram* at the head of each letter.	No invocation. Bhairava, Siva linga, Mahesvara, Yudhisthira, Vishnu, Sama Veda, Vyas.	*Rajas.* Pravara Sena. Sri Rudra Sena. Prithivi Sena. Rudra Sena 2nd. Pravara Sena 2nd.	None of the princes are known in history; but the inscription adds another Gupta (Deva), who is called "Paramount Sovereign," and whose daughter was the mother of Rudra Sena 2nd. The Deva Nagari is curious, having an open parallelogram at the head of each letter. The Vickramditya era not used in this; nor commonly in early inscriptions. Gives a village to a Brahman, but without any eulogy of Brahmans. *Begar*, or forced labour, is mentioned. Similar Deva Nagari is met with at Chattisgash.
5	731	Slab in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.	Sanscrit, but scarcely intelligible.	Samvat 1093, or A.D. 1035.	Deva Nagari, of Sarnáth inscriptions.	Not mentioned	The great King Yaso Pala.	Yaso Pala, as King of Delhi, issues orders to his officers, but for what purpose is not made out.
5	340	On a slab at Wara, in the Konkun, Bombay.	Not mentioned	None..........	Saurashtra coins, and *long*-tailed Deva Nagari.	No gods mentioned, but there is a trisula on the slab.	None............	The inscription is a fragment, and cannot be fully translated; but Mr. Prinsep says it may be as old as the Gujarat coins with Greek heads upon them. The trisul, without the mention of Hindu gods, would seem to indicate that it is not necessarily an exclusive emblem of Siva.
6	88	Slab in the Museum of the Asiatic Society, Bengal; from Bhabaneshwar, Orissa.	Grammatical Sanskrit, with double meanings.	Samvat 32 of the Gaur era. A.D. 1174?	Gaur, or Harsha.	Invocation "Om." Vasu Deva, Krishna, Hari, Kamala, Saraswati, Bhava, Brahma, and Siva. Mahasa, Garuda, Shaktis, Lakshmi. Three Vedas only named.	Private family; one of whom was minister to a Raja Hari-varma Deva. The Rajahs of Banga and Gaur.	This inscription dedicates a stone image of Vishnu, and is in praise of a Brahman, and his ancestors, for building a temple, and is full of Puranic fable. One of the worthy Brahmans, Bhava Deva, gave 100 damsels, "bright-eyed," to a temple. The sea of Buddhism is spoken of, and Bhava Deva, the Brahman, as equal to the Omniscient, and skilful at annihilating the opinion of heretics.

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6	218	From the ruins of a magnificent Buddhist Chaitya at Amarâvati (Oomrawti) in Berar. Museum of A. S. B., in manuscript.	Sanskrit, but neither pure nor of correct orthography.	Not mentioned, but of the transition period to modern Deva Nagari. A.D. 600, to A.D. 1000.	Ceylon, Seoni, and Andhra, passing to florid Southern Indian, and has much resemblance to that of some of the rock inscriptions at Mahabalipur.	Buddhism is called the kingdom-preserving and the very excellent religion of the people, which it is hoped will endure for ever.	Not made out	The inscription, which is imperfect, refers to the foundation and endowment of some Buddhist institution. It says, "place is not to be given to the disputer of Buddhism;" nevertheless praises those who relieve the guest and the Brahman, and considers injuries to the gods and Brahmans as great sins!! At the date of the inscription, therefore, there was not any hostility between Buddhists and Brahmans.
6	278	Slab in Museum A. S. B., from Bhabaneswar. Companion slab of the one before noticed, from the same place.	Polished Sanskrit, and exceedingly inflated.	A.D. 1174 is the date of Aniyanka Bhima's ascent of the throne, in the annals of Orissa.	Harsha, or Shekwalti, almost modern Deva Nagari.	Salutation to Siva, and *Gautama* is called the Chief of Sages. Indra, Vishnu, Brahma, Rama, Kamadeva, Ananta.	Aniyanka Bhima ..	This prince was celebrated in Orissa, and endowed Jagannatha. He had the misfortune to kill a Brahman, and raised numerous temples in expiation of his offence, at one of which was the slab; and this slab led to the identification of the preceding at Bhabaneswar; but that inscription was Vaishnava, this Saiva.
6	454	Sanchi, near Bhilsa-Bhopal, on the Bhuddhist temple gateway.	Sanskrit prose..	Samvat 403, or 1009 or 18? The same, Samvat 18, is mentioned in the inscription at Brahmeswara, but the character is of the tenth century.	Evidently later than Allahabad No. 2.	Buddhist. The inscription is addressed to the Sramanes, or Buddhist priests, and salutation is offered to the *eternal Gods and Goddesses.*	The great Emperor Chandra Gupta, called by his subjects Deva Raja or Indra. Possibly Chandra Gupta, 2nd of the Bhitari column inscription. But he must have deserted the religion of his family.	The inscription records a *money* contribution, the coin being called "*Dinar*," and a grant of land by the great Emperor Chandra Gupta, for the embellishing the chaitya and the support of five Buddhist priests for ever, and it records the remarkable fact of the *purchase* of the ground by the Emperor for the purpose at the *legal rate.* It is uncertain whether the Samvat in the inscription is that of Vikramditya; it is much more likely to be a Buddhist family era. It is said, "*Whoso shall destroy the structure, his sin shall be as great, yea five times as great, as that of the murder of a Brahman.*" So that the Brahman was at a discount of five hundred per cent. compared with the Buddhist chaitya! From the *corruption* indicated by the salutation to the Eternal Gods and Goddesses, and the alphabet used, the inscription is probably not older than the eighth century.

6	459	Second inscription, ditto, ditto, on the Bhuddhist temple at Sanchi.	Ditto..........	Numerals unintelligible.	Ditto...........	Buddhist. Mentions the holy monastery of Kakunada Sphota; and the four Buddhas are thrice named; and images of four Buddhas are in niches.	Not mentioned ...	This inscription records that a female devotee, Hariswamini, to prevent begging, caused an almshouse to be erected, and money was given for the lamps of the *four Buddhas*; so that, at this period, as *Fa hian* states, more than *one Buddha was worshipped*. The numerals of the date are not understood.
6	461	Inscriptions 3 to 25, on the Bhuddist temple at Sanchi.	Old Pali.......	Ditto, *but* before the fifth century.	Varying from Lât to Allahabad No. 2, or Gaya.	Gifts to the chaitya recorded.	Not mentioned.....	All the inscriptions are in the character before the Allahabad No. 2, or Gaya, therefore before the eighth century, and they are of different ages: they record small gifts by Buddhists to the chaitya—particularly by different *communities of Buddhists from Ougein*; and there is a regular progression in the form of the letters, from the simple outline to the more embellished type of the second alphabet of Allahabad.
6	566 to 609 and 791	Column at Delhi, Allahabad. Mattiah, Radhiah	Pali, but of an old character, between Pali and Sanskrit, possibly the original of both. The phraseology simple and straightforward, opposed to Sanskr.t hyperbolical eulogy and extravagant exaggeration.	By the Mahawanso, the fourteenth year of Asoko's reign corresponds to the 232nd year after the death of Buddha, and therefore to B.C. 311, and the inscription being in the 27th year of his reign, the date is B C. 298. The Dipawanso, says Asoko, was inaugurated 218 years after the death of Sakya, therefore B.C. 325.	Lât, or oldest form of Deva Nagari, which latter is deducible from it, letter by letter, through successive ages, excepting the new or additional Sanskrit letters.	Buddhist. Of this there can be no doubt, from the injunctions to teach "Dharma" under the sacred tree, and *turning the wheel of the law*, the mention of the ascetic disciples; certain dogmas, and the observance of the three holy days, monthly, mentioned by Fa hian, preachings, &c., and Babhana (Brahmans) are to be converted, and kindness and condescension shown to Brahmans and Sramans.	Piyadasi, or Asoko, Emperor of all India, identified as Asoko by the Hon. Mr. Turnour, from the Pali Dipawanso, which states that he was the grandson of Chandagutto, and viceroy of Ougein.—J. A. S. B., vol. 6, p. 791.	The inscriptions are the same on all the columns. Five hundred years ago, the author of the Hafta Klim, Mahumed Amin, said, the character was unintelligible to the learned of *all religions*. No images of Buddha, no temples or relics, mentioned. But *Dhamma* (the doctrine) is to be taught *under the* sacred *tree*. The chief object is the interdict of the slaughter or destruction of any living creature, and the abolishment of torture in punishments, and the punishment of death for criminals, and the exempting animals from work on the stated days. But the days, 8th, 14th, and 15th of the moon, do not quite accord with modern Buddhist practices. The name of Buddha, Gotama, or Sakya Muni, not mentioned; but the expression, Sukatam Kachhato, which Mr. Prinsep supposes is intended for Sugatam Gachhato, or Sugato (well come) a name of Buddha; and the inscriptions have frequent references to the acts to be done under the holy fig-tree, Buddha's Ficus Indica. The inscription opens in the twenty-seventh year of the King, Devanampiya Piyadasi's anointment. Asoko distinctly says, the object of his

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								doctrines is to increase the mercy and charity, the truth and purity, the kindness and *honesty*, of the world. The King, says he, prays for those of every creed that they, with him, may attain *eternal salvation*. This is not atheism.
6	576	The above stone pillar at Delhi.	Sanskrit	Samvat 1220, or A.D. 1163.	Almost modern Deva Nagari.	Hindu	Vesala Deva........	This inscription was cut upon one of the old láts, or Buddhist columns, to record Vesala's victories, but not against the Buddhists, because they were gone.
6	664	Slab from Kurgoada, in Canara.	Canarese, but invocation Sanskrit.	Salivahana 909. A.D. 987; and there is an era of the family Machmal, 710, corresponding to the above.	Hala Canara.....	Invocation to Siva as Swayam bhunath Parbhate. Sambhu.	Maehmal Deva and his son Bachwan.	The inscription is remarkable, adverting to the date, for the terms "suppressor of the pride of the *Daityas*," applied to Sambhu (Siva), having relation apparently to the extermination of the Buddhists, not long previously, by the Saivas. The inscription gives lands to a temple of Sambhu, and houses to the *native priesthood*. Not a word about Brahmans, and the mention of "native priesthood" would seem to confirm the belief of the modern introduction of the Brahmans into Southern India.
6	665	Fort of Kalinjar in Bundlekund, on a black marble slab.	Sanskrit	A.D. 1246?	Peculiar elongated and narrow Deva Nagari, not unlike Seoni, or the Lower Kanouj coins.	Invocation to Siva. Sambhu Parbati Ganga. Puranic imagery.	Parmalik, or the Milleki Rajas of the Mussulman historians.	The inscription is mutilated. It was from a temple of Mahadeva. The Raja was defeated by the Delhi monarch, Mahmoud bin Abtamsh, A.D. 1246.
6	668	Gumsar Cuttack, on copper plate.	Mixture of Sanskrit, Uriya, and Tamil.	Nalgulli era Samvat 1; unknown, but the writing is *after* the tenth century.	Gaur or Bhabaneswar of tenth century.	Invocation to Hara. Kama, Ganga, Sesnag. The Yajur Veda and the Raja Dharma Sastra mentioned.	Kalyana Kulasa of the Bhanjamalla family, or Sri Netri Bhanja, grandson of Shatra Bhanja Deva, son of Rana Bhanja.	This inscription gives a village to a Brahman, resembling the god of the Bhanja mountain. It concludes with the usual quotation from the Dharma Sastra, that he who disturbs the grant, and all his ancestors, shall become loathsome maggots in *dung*.
6	671	Buddha Gaya. Vaulted cavern, or Nágárjuni. Other inscriptions twenty-three.	Sanskrit	After Allahabad No. 2, and of the ninth or tenth century.	Gaya; and differs slightly from the Gujarat alphabet of Mr. Wathen, having many compound letters, and	Devi. Mahishasura. The image of Katyayani, is placed in this cavern of the Vindhya mountains, so that this	Yajna Varma. Sardula Varma. Ananta Varma.	This is the inscription translated by Dr. Wilkins, but subsequently more literally done by a boy educated in the Sanskrit College at Calcutta. The inscription gives the village of Dandi to Devi; but there is not a word about Brahmans,

		Inscrip. No. I.			is therefore more modern than it.	part of Bahar must have been considered part of the Vindhyas.		nor Puranic fables, unless the word *Mahishasura* implies it.
		Do. 15, do. do...	Sanskrit	Do...............	Do...............	No gods mentioned.	Sardula Varma. Krishna.	These inscriptions, in the same character as the preceding, only contain praises of the Varma princes, who Mr. J. Prinsep thinks were of the Gupta family. They are all in the Buddha cave of Nagarjuna.
		Do. 16 and 17...	Do	Do...............	Do...............	No gods mentioned. Yama.	Son of Ananta Varma.	
		Do. 2 and 3.....	Old Pali	B.C. 280 to B.C. 247.	Old Lát..........	Buddhist. Buddha. Ascetics mentioned for whose use the cave was formed.	The beloved of the gods, Dasalathana, in Pali. Dasaratha, in Sanskrit.	The title of Raja not applied, but the terms are "immediately upon his receiving *regal* anointment." These inscriptions are of great moment. In the Puranic prophecy Dasaratha is placed next but one below Asoko, and the character and language make him nearly the contemporary of Agathocles in Bactria and Mahasewa Suratissa in Ceylon. The inscriptions record that the *Brahman* girl's cave and the milk-maid's cave were excavated by the Buddhist ascetics, and devoted to them in perpetuity by Dasaratha, who, like Asoko, is called "Beloved of Heaven." The *Mitras* of the Sunga family are identified from these caves, and from coins.
		Do. 4, 5, 6, &c., &c., including all the remaining to No. 23.	Various........	Various.........	Various, but none of them Lát.	Various............	None mentioned....	The remaining inscriptions are all short, and in every variety of the Deva Nagari, from Allahabad No. 2 to modern Deva Nagari, and notice the Buddhist bo-tree or Hindu images subsequently introduced.
		An inscription on a seal. Sri Vati (or Bhati) Khuddha, from Ougein.	Sanskrit	None............	Saurashtra legend coins.	Not mentioned......	Sri Vati (or Bhati) Khudda, upon a seal from Ougein.	
6	778	Bareilly; village of Illahabas. At the ancient village of Maguta, district of Bhushana, on a stone slab.	Sanskrit verse; the language and poetry superior to anything of previous date, seen by the Society's Pandit, Kamalakanta.	Samvat 1049; A.D. 992.	In the inscription it is called the *Kulda*, and is midway between the Deva Nagari and the Gauri. Some of the vowel inflections wanting.	Brahmanical. Ananta, Ravana, Lakshmi, Indra, Rama, Siva, Ganga, Iswara, Madhu, and Sambhu Parbati Devi. The Vedantas mentioned.	The founder, Chyavan a Maharishi. Son Viravarma. Son Marschanda Pratapa. Brother Malhana. Son Lalla.	The inscription dedicates a temple to Siva and Parbati by Lalla, whose fathers are all of the royal race of Chhindu. The inscription inflated and highly poetic, and the language polished; nevertheless, there are variations in spelling, and inflections from modern Sanskrit. The inscription was found at a temple in the jungle, and there were the appearance of the ruins of a town about. A gift of villages and trees to Brahmans. None of the names occur in Hindu works, although the petty princes are called masters of the world.

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6	869	Multaye; Baitool, near the source of the Tapti river. Copper-plate grants.	Sanskrit verse, with some difference from modern spelling.	Mr. Ommaney says A.D. 1573; Mr. Prinsep says A.D. 709 or 909; but the character is rather that of 909.	After the Allahabad No. 2 and Gujarati.	No invocation, but simply Svasti. Vyasa; and the donor pronounces himself a firm Brahmanist, and a firm Bhagavata, or disciple of Vishnu.	Sri Darga Raja. Son Govinda Raja. Son Maswamika Raja. Son Sri Nanda Raja. Sri Yuddhasura.	The Raja Yuddhasura, of Rahtore Rajput origin, gives a village to Brahmans; but the inscription is remarkable for the absence of the display of Puranic gods and goddesses. The usual threat about resuming lands is quoted from the Vedas. The inscription is otherwise curious for using the era of the Buddhist Salivahana. None of the princes are in the lists of the Garha Mandala Rajas.
6	879	Hund, near Attock, on the Indus, on marble slab.	Sanskrit, mixed with Hindi.	Seventh or eighth century probably, or later.	Deva Nagari in transitu.	Parbati Deva. The husband of Parbati.	Not made out......	Too mutilated to be useful. Speaks of the chief having *bland speech* for superiors and Brahmans, and talks of his kingly and *priestly* rule. The flesh-eating Turushcas (Turks) mentioned.
6	881	Kalinjar, in Bundlekund. Stone slab in the Museum of the Asiatic Society.	Sanskrit verse, but language and poetry of low estimate.	A.D. 1288; Samvat 1345.	Bundlekund Deva Nagari.	Deva as Vishnu. Lakshmi, and all the Avatars of Vishnu, Ganapati, Rama, and the Rakhshas. Kashyapa is called the *first* expounder of the Vedas.	Family names of a Chief, the last of whom, Nanda, married a daughter of the King of Ougein.	The inscription is full of poetical and laboured images, but the Sanskrit is bad; and Kamalakanta, who translated it with Mr. J. Prinsep, protested against Mr. Prinsep retaining the original errors of the text. The inscription was recorded to dedicate an image of Vishnu.
6	970 to 980	Allahabad column. Inscription 2.	Not pure Sanskrit; seventy lines metrical, the rest prose.	Seventh or eighth century.	Allahabad, or Gaya.	Five lines wanting. Dhanada (Kuvera), Varuna, Indra and Antaka (Yama) Vrihaspati, Tumburu Narada. The Ganges coming from the hair of the Lord of Men (Siva) noticed. The Shastras. So far from any of the kings being made to worship Hindu gods, Samudra Gupta is said to put to shame Indra Yama, Kuvera, and Varuna.	Sri Gupta. Son Sri Ghatot Kacha. Son Chandra Gupta. Son Samudra Gupta. Son Chandra Gupta, the second; living.	This is the last *revised* reading of *new* impressions by Mr. J. Prinsep. The column was raised *again* by the dewan of Chandra Gupta 2nd, probably. A curious thing in the inscription is the use of ka, the prototype of the modern genitive sign in Hindee. None of the numerous kings named are met with in the Puranas, and few of the countries even. No mention of Brahmans whatever. The *poet* Dhruva Bhuta calls himself the slave of the feet of the great king, and hopes it will be acceptable to the dewan Hari Sena. It is professed to be executed by the slave of the feet of the supreme sovereign, the criminal magistrate, Tala Bhatta. Uses the term Shahanshahi, king of kings, which applies to the Sassanian dynasty of Persia, extinct in the seventh century. The

								Scythians and Huns mentioned. By this inscription the power of Brahmanism was plainly only incipient.
6	1038	Junir and Karli caves, and other places in Deccan. Collected by Col. Sykes. Seven inscriptions.	Old Pali	Second to third century before Christ.	Old Lát; but not so old as Delhi Lát character.	Buddhist. The inscriptions narrate by whom the caves were excavated, and for what objects. That at Karli is for foreign pilgrims: the great *chaitya* cave excavation at Junir is for the comfort of the attendants at the temple, &c.	Dharmika Seni is called the author of the 100 caves at Junir, but is not called King. Vira Senaka excavated the Deghope temple. Sulisadatta is called Lord of the City of Thaka.	The curious fact connected with these seven inscriptions, in the multitudinous cave temples of the Dekkan, is that they do not record *positively* the titles of any princes, nor name Samanas and others of the priesthood; but it must be borne in mind that the moment a prince became a "Samana" he abandoned his titles. The inscriptions are remarkable, also, for having [initial or final] many of the emblems on the coins, Nos. 8, 12, 34, 35, and 36.
6	1072	Udayagiri and Khandgiri caves in Cuttack, 5 miles west of Bhabaneswar. Numerous inscriptions. But the more modern inscriptions on the *same rocks* are Sanskrit.	Old Pali	*Before* the second or third century before Christ.	Old Lát.........	Buddhist. Arhantas, or Buddhist saints. Gotama? and Buddha is understood.	The mighty Sovereign of Kalinga, but not named. Prince Vattaka.	The caves are stated to be excavated by Kalinga Rajas. Five of the emblems found on the Buddhist coins are met with in these inscriptions of the forms, 9th, 6th, 35th, 8th, and a new form of the bo-tree. The moment an approach to modern Deva Nagari is seen, there is an association with Hindu gods, and not before.
	1075		Sanskrit	Some of fifth or 6th century, A.D. One of the tenth century, Samvat 9, which, if of the Gaur era, would be A.D. 1132.	Kutila............	Brahmanical. Holy ascetics, Prabhaswara, or Jagannath.	None mentioned....	The inscription of the tenth century, in Sanskrit, speaks of an equitable prince having the cave excavated *within the holy precincts* of the Lord of Gods (Jagannath), for the holy ascetics. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, therefore, Jagannath was worshipped.
	1085	Khandgiri *rock* in Cuttack, the ancient kingdom of Kalinga.	Old Pali	The *great* inscription is after the Raja Dasalatha, 2nd of the Gaya inscription, but before the Junir inscriptions, therefore third or fourth century before Christ. The year 1300 is twice mentioned in words, and if this be the Buddh-	Old Lát	Buddhist; and opens with salutations to the *Arhantas*, or Buddhist saints; and the sculptures represent figures of Buddha, the worship of the Bo-tree, processions, &c., &c. Merry dancing girls spoken of, and a chaitya temple and pillars. The Kalinga Raja, at	Aira, the great King; and speaks of a Raja who was in his 85th year, and just dead. Raja Kharavela Sanda, (King of the ocean shore,) Nanda Raja. NOTE. Bhamadatasa is on one of the coins of the *Ramadatta* series, and *Brah-*	The inscription makes the young prince learn *navigation, commerce*, and law, as well as other school matters. At his accession, in his twenty-fourth year, he chose the *Brahmanical* faith, but afterwards called about him the Buddhist priests who had been *settled there under the ancient Kings*. Subsequent breaks in the inscription interrupt the sense, but the dedication of *chaityas* is mentioned. Benares is noticed under its Pali name, and it evidently must have been Buddhist, as the King, Aira, distributes much gold there.

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				ist era mentioned by Fa hian in Ceylon, then the date is A.D. 215.		Buddha's death, got the left canine tooth, which was afterwards transferred to Ceylon, and is now in British custody.	*madatta* is said by Mr. Turnour to have received the tooth relic at Buddha's death at Kalinga.	The Brahman caste is written *Baiman* caste.
7	32	Kuhaon. Gorakhpúr. On a column.	Imperfect Sanskrit, with errors of orthography.	Not before tenth century.	The Gupta or Allahabad No. 2, a little before the Gaya alphabet.	No invocation. No Hindu gods named. Indra mentioned; and five images of him are set up by the roadside, which the pillar records. The naked figure on the column, backed by the seven-headed snake, is the same as my drawing represents from the Buddha cave at Ellora. Vide Appendix.	Mentions the death of Skanda Gupta, [of Allahabad ?] 133 years before the date of the inscription, but the recorder of the inscription belonged to a wealthy private family.	This is an inscription on a column, by a wealthy individual (Madra), in honour of himself and family, son of Rudra Soma, son of Bhatta Soma, son of Amila. Madra professes to be the friend and patron of Brahmans, Gurus, and Yatis; but there are not any Hindu gods named in the inscription, and all the *naked* figures cut on the pillar are evidently the same as are found in some of the Buddhist caves of Ellora. The translator speaks of the errors in the text. The chances are, that the inscription, like the Gupta inscriptions of Allahabad and Bhitare, was cut on a previously-existing Buddhist column.
7	42	Bakerganj, Bengal, 120 miles east of Calcutta. On copper-plates.	Sanskrit verse, inflated, eulogistic, and punning.	Samvat 3, of Kesava Sena's reign, which, from the Ayin Akberi list, makes the year A.D. 1136.	Gaur; a little *less simple* than the earlier alphabets of the Pala dynasty.	Aum, salutation to Naryana. Vedas, Hara (Siva,) Saraswati, Kama, Rudra, Indra. The seal of Siva is called Sadasiva. Ravana, Lakshmi, Sesnag, Ganga, Balarama, Jagannatha, Satis, mentioned.	Vigaya Sena. Son Ballaha Sena. Son Laksmana Sena. Son Raja Kasava Sena.	This inscription is on copper-plates, in a *singular* state of preservation. The Sena dynasty was of *low* origin, calling themselves Sankaya Gaureswara, or Lord of Gaur. The inscription gives a grant of three villages to a Brahman, called Iswara Deva Sarma, but uses no terms of reverence. In referring to the numerous battles of the princes there is not any mention of fire-arms, but of bows, arrows, swords, &c. The founder of the family was a Doctor. The inscription says that Lakshmana Sena erected pillars of victory and altars at Benares, Allahabad, and Jagannatha.
7	53	Jain images, in marble, dug up at Ajmir.	Prakrit, derived from the Pali.	Twelfth century. A.D. 1182 is on one image.	Deva Nagari	Jain, of the Digambari class. The name of one of the images Prajnanath.	None............	Five images of naked Jain saints were dug up at Ajmir, in a Mussulman burial ground; and the inscriptions on them are curious for showing the *Prakrit* (not Pali) of the twelfth century.

7	217 to 262	Girnar, on the coast of Gujrat, at Junagharh; and the same inscription occurs at Dhauli, in Cuttack, on the opposite side of India, with the addition of three local edicts, one of which would seem to have been done by Asoko's father, as it enjoins the young prince at *Ougein* to issue similar ordinances to his own.	Old Pali, or intermediate between Sanskrit and Pali; but supposed to represent the Pali of the West of India of the fourth century B.C., and the inflexions at Dhauli and Girnar are not quite the same; and there is a difference in the grammar of the two series of inscriptions. From Mr. Prinsep having referred a Sanskrit inscription at Girnar, to the third century before Christ, instead of the fourth or seventh A.D. (which he afterwards *rectifies*,) he was induced to derive the Pali from the Sanskrit.	B.C. 330, by the Buddhist, Chinese, and Burmese chronology; but the Greek notices will make it B.C. 280, and the Mahawanso makes the accession of Asoko B.C. 325.	Old Lát.........	Buddhist. Upholds Dhammo, or the law. Mentions days and periods for humiliation, prayer, &c.; the sending of missionaries; preachings. Expatiates on the sources of true happiness, virtue, benevolence, peace, charity, reverence, &c., rewarded with temporary blessings in this world, and endless moral merit *in the next*; and the victory of victories is that which overcometh the passions. It speaks of the wicked being punished in the nethermost regions of *hell*, and the good having final emancipation, and they are to hope ardently for heaven. The promotion of the king's *salvation*, and the "*salvation* of all unbelievers, and ANOTHER EXISTENCE, are expressly spoken of; also the propitiation of Heaven, and the king's IMMORTALITY. Where is atheism here?	Asoko, or Piyadasi. The Greek King Antiochus, and one of the Ptolemies of Egypt, and Antigonus.	These inscriptions are on a rock at Girnar, a celebrated Buddhist locality, and are edicts of Piyadasi, in the tenth and twelfth years of his reign, and are, therefore, older than those of the Delhi and Allahabad Láts, which are in the twenty-seventh year of his reign. The chief object is to *prohibit the slaughter of animals*, both for food and in religious assemblies. The second edict provides *medical* aid for men and animals. The third orders the *quinquennial* assemblies (*Vide* Fa hian) for prayer and preaching. The sixth appoints custodes morum (*Vide* Arrian and Buddha's Sermon.) In all there are fourteen edicts inculcating Buddhism. The remarkable fact of the mention of the name of Antiochus of Syria, in the medical edict, and Antigonus and Ptolemy of Egypt in the 13th, occurs. In Asoko's zeal for proselytism he sent to those Greek princes. In the first edict Asoko distinctly says *formerly* hundreds of thousands of animals were sacrificed for food in the *refectory* and temple for food; but that not one should be killed for the future. The third edict enjoins kindness to Brahmans and Sramanas; because for many HUNDRED YEARS PAST there has been disrespect to Brahmans and *Sramans*, and slaughter of animals. The Rajah Tarangini mentions King Maghavahana, a Buddhist sovereign of Kashmir of the third or fourth century, issuing an edict *against the slaughter of animals*, similar to these of Asoko.
7	557	Brahmeswara in Cuttack, not far from Babaneswara, on a slab in the museum of the Asiatic	Sanskrit verse..	No intelligible date, but the character is after the tenth century —1141? certainly after Lalat In-	Gaur alphabet, or Harsha.	No invocation. Brahma, Upendra (Vishnu), Maheswara, Indra, Bali, *Siva*. Vedas, grammar, poetry, logic,	Janamajaya, Lord of Telinga. Son, Dirghadava. Son, Apavara. Raja Vichitravira. Son, Abhimanya.	Commemorates the temple of Brahmeswara being erected to Siva by Kolavati, the mother of Udyotaka. The era Samvat 18 is used. The temple was no doubt erected after that to Siva at Bhabanesar, which Mr. Stirling says was

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		Society of Bengal.		dra Kesari, A.D. 617.		&c., mentioned but no Puranas. No eulogy of Brahmans.	Son, Chandihara. Raja Udyotaka Kesari Deva.	completed A.D. 657, and *that* at Kanarak A.D. 1241. If the Samvat era 18 be that of Gaur of the dynasty that subverted the Bhupalas, it corresponds to A.D. 1141.—*Vide* J. A. S. B., vol. 5, p. 660.
7	565	Naneh Ghát, Dekkan, in a cave chamber. From Colonel Sykes's collection.	Old Pali	Before Christ	Old Lát..........	Buddhist. Glory to Dharma. Indra, the Lords of Sakra. Sun and moon, sanctified saints, Yama, Varuna, and spirits of the air, and Lokapalas, or upholders of the world.	Young Prince Rakesa. The great warrior Tunakayiko. Prince Hakusaro, connected with the house of Amara Pala.	This is part of a long inscription in a chamber cut in the rock overlooking the Konkan in one of the passes, which was evidently the high road from Adjunta, Ellora, Junir, to Kalian and the cave temples in Salsette. The inscriptions in all these localities are very numerous, and call for translation.
7	737	Piplianagur in Bhopal, on copper, being one of the four plates formerly noticed by Mr. L. Wilkinson.	Sanskrit	Samvat 1235; A.D. 1178.	Peculiar open parallelogram attached to Deva Nagari letters.	Glory to Sri Ganesa. Siva, Kamadeva, Indra, Varuna, Ramachandra. No mention of Puranas.	Great King Sri Udayaditya. Son Great King Sri Nara Varma Deva. Son Great King Sri Yaso Varma Deva. Son Great King Sri Jaya Varma Deva. Prince Sri Haris-chandra Deva.	Gives *shares of government rents* of villages to Brahmans. The *Patel's* of villages mentioned. The capital was Nilagiri. Haris-chandra was the son of the great Sri Lakshmivarma Deva. The Paramar, Ponwar, or Powar tribe spoken of,—evidently the ancestors of the present Mahratta Powars of Dhar.
7	710	Kaira, Gujarat. Copper-plate. There is only an analysis of the inscription given.	Sanskrit prose, each word having a double meaning.	Samvat 380; A.D. 323; but, if the Balibhi era be used, three hundred and nineteen years must be added.	Before Allahabad No. 2, but not quite Lát.	*Four* Vedas mentioned, but not one name of the Puranic gods.	Prasanga Raja. Grandson of Samanta Datta.	The grant is of a village; and the donees are designated "those who are versed in the four Vedas;" and the term Brahman is not used. The grant was for the worship of the five—Jagnas, Bali, Charu, Baiswadeva, and Agnihotra. There is the usual quotation about the resumption of lands.
7	339	Junagharh, near Girnar, in Gujarat, on a rock with the Pali edicts of Asoko.	Sanskrit prose, but with grammatical errors, and punning.	If after Wathen's inscription, or the Andhra Kings, then between the third and the end of the sixth century, A.D.	Altered Lát approaching Wathen's plates.	Buddhist. The invocation is Siddham, and there is not the slightest trace or allusion to Brahmanism.	Raja Maha Kshatrapa, or Swami Chastana, his son was Raja Aridama. Chandra Gupta Maurya of Magadha is referred to, and his grandson Asoko.	Records the repeated repairs of a bridge,—once by Pupya Gupta, treasurer of Raja Chandra Gupta Maurya; then by the Greek (Yavana) Raja of Asoko, Tushaspa; and, lastly, by Rudra Dama. The names of eleven sovereigns of this dynasty have been made out from their silver coins, which are unquestionably Buddhist, the chief and central emblem

				On the coins of some of the princes of this dynasty are the dates 283, 323, 360, 385, and 390, but of what era is not known. Rudra *Dama* mentioned in the inscription is the father of the Rudra *Sah* of the coins, with the Samvat 385.	Old Deva Nagari, nearly Wathen's.	On the coins of the princes the chaitya is impressed, and one of the princes is called Jina Dama, or votary of Buddha.	The following names of the Rudra Sah family appear on the coins: Rudra Sah. His son Aga Dama. Dama Sah (no coins). His son Vijaya Sah. His brother Vira Dama. His son Rudra Sah, date 283. His brother Viswa Sah, date 324. Rudra Sah, 332? His son Utri Dama, date 360? His son Viswa Sah. Swami Rudra Dama (no coins). His son Swami Rudra Sah, Samvat 385 and 390?	on the reverse being the chaitya. Rudra Sah is called the son of Jina Dama, the votary of Buddha. One of the completions of the bridge is in the seventy-second year of the son of the Raja Swami Chastana, called the Raja Aridama. Although this inscription be in Sanskrit, there is not the slightest relation to Brahmanism in it. Both by the inscription and coins the princes are Buddhists, and Swami Rudra Sah has the *Samvat* date 385, which, if of Vikramditya, places him in the fourth century of the Christian era, but if the era be the Balibhi, the date is A.D. 704. The inscription mentions the *election of a king* (Rudra Dama) *by the people*, who did not permit the sacrifice of animal life; and he is called the Lord of the country of Ougein, Mathura, Sindh, &c., and he conquered Satkarni, King of the Dekkan.
7	442	Two separate local edicts, at Dauli in Cuttack. The remaining edicts corresponding with those at Girnar in Gujarat.	Old Pali	Third or fourth century before Christ; but the year of the king's reign is not stated, as in the other edicts. B.C. 306?	Old Lát.........	Buddhist. Commands the non-destruction of life, non-infliction of cruelty; charity, kindness, virtue. The king says, For my subjects I desire this only, that they may be possessed of every benefit and happiness as to things of *this world* and of the world beyond.	Devanampiya, or the beloved of the gods; and, as the young Prince of OUGEIN is named, the king is probably the father of Asoko, who was regent at Ougein.	The first edict is addressed to the public officers of the city of Tosali, and commands murderers to be imprisoned. Both edicts appoint two Tupha's, or colleges for meditation and the propitiation of Heaven. The question of atheism in *ancient* Buddhism is set at rest by these edicts, which repeatedly speak of this world and the world hereafter; and the people are expressly commanded to propitiate Heaven, and to "CONFESS AND BELIEVE IN GOD, WHO IS THE WORTHY OBJECT OF OBEDIENCE;" or, more literally, "HIM, THE ETERNAL, YE SHALL PROPITIATE BY PRAYER."
7	633	Airun, in Bhopal, on an image of the Boar Avatar in a temple to Vishnu.	Sanskrit; but with words written corruptly.	Of the same period as the following inscription, Dhanya Vishnu being alive at the time both were written. Probably about the eighth century A.D.	Subsequent to Kanouj Nagari, or Allahabad No. 2, but before the Gaur or Harsha character.	Invocation to Vishnu as the Boar Avatar or incarnation. Vedas. Bhagavan. The Sukta hymn of the Rig Veda. Vishnu is called Jagan Narayana. Narayana in the form of *Varaha*, or the boar.	Raja Indra Vishnu. His son, Varuna Vishnu. His son, Hari Vishnu. His son, Matri Vishnu. Also Raja Tarapani, of Surashtra, who is called King of	The temple was built in the first year of the reign of Raja Tarapani, by Dhanya Vishnu, the confidential minister and brother of Raja Matri Vishnu. The inscription is the first in honour of the *boar* incarnation of Vishnu, and the Boar coins probably belonged to this family of princes, who worshipped Vishnu as the Boar. The minister Dhanya obtained his office by public election, and *through*

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							Kings and governing the earth.	*the grace of God!* Dhanya is called a Rishi amongst the Brahmans and the devoted worshipper of Bhagavan; but there is not any preposterous eulogy of Brahmans.
7	634	Airan, in Bhopal, on a pillar in front of the temple.	Same as the last inscription.	The year 165 of the era of some dynasty, which, from the mention of Buddha Gupta, is possibly of the Kanouj family. Probably about the eighth century A.D.	Same as last	Vishnu, Garuda, Lokapalas, Bhagavan, Janardana (or Vishnu), Punyajanas (or Rakshas).	The King Budha Gupta, who governed the country between the Jumna and the Narmada.	The pillar was raised, at the expense of Dhanya Vishnu, before the temple of the preceding inscription, by Vaidala Vishnu, who had been elected to the Regency. The notice of a new Gupta, and a date of the dynasty, 165, is of great interest, as Buddha Gupta necessarily followed those mentioned on the Allahabad and Bhitari columns. And up to Buddha Gupta's time, if he belonged to the Kanouj dynasty, its duration had been only 165 years. In the early part of the fifth century, A.D., Fa hian found a Buddhist King at Kanouj; and in the early part of the seventh century Hiuan thsang found a Hindu King reigning. The dynasties, therefore, had been changed between the fifth and seventh centuries, and the Gupta family had sprung up in the interval.
7	901	Arnakunda, or Varangal, in Telingana, on a slab.	Telugu and Oorya, with Sanskrit slokas.	Saka 1054, or A.D. 1132, being the year Chetrabhanu of the Vrihaspati Chakar, or sixty years' cycle of Jupiter.	Not mentioned...	Hari, Ganesa, Saraswati, Siva, Maheswar, Ravi Souri (or Vishnu).	Raja Rudra Deva ...	Rudra Deva is the Raja mentioned in the Jagannath temple annals as Churang or Chorgunga, and was the founder of the Gunga Vansa dynasty. He was a benefactor to Jagannath, adorned it, and *populated* its neighbourhood. The inscription contains a long account of Rudra Deva's genealogy and of his battles. There are not any praises of Brahmans, or even mention of them! From the mention of Ganesa, his worship must have been used in the twelfth century.
7	909	Kaira, in Gujarat. Copper-plate. One of four, from Dr. Burn.	Sanskrit prose, each word having a double meaning,—and incapable of being closely	Samvat 390, or A.D. 323, if the era be that of Vikramaditya, but if of the Balibhi era, then A.D. 640.	Closely allied to the Kanouj Nagari, or Allahabad No. 2,—possibly a little earlier.	The *four* Vedas mentioned; but not one word of Brahmanical gods or Brahmans.	Raja Samanta Datta. His son, Vijaya Bhatta, or Vita Raja. His son, Prasanga Raja Datta.	The Raja Prasanga, of the royal race of Gajjara, gives a village to those who are versed in the *four* Vedas, not for the worship of Brahma, Vishnu, or Siva, or their offsets, but for the worship of the five Jagnas, Bali, Charu, Baiswadeva,

			rendered into English.					and Agnihotra. Brahmans, although alluded to, are not even named; even the writer *Rewa* is not called a Brahman.
7	966	Kaira, in Gujarat. Copper-plate. No. 1, from Dr. Burn.	Sanskrit prose.	Samvat 365, or A.D. 309; but if of the Valibhi era, then 319 years must be added.	The same as the last.	Opens simply with "*Glory*," instead of other invocation. Ganges river, Lakshmi, Saraswati (as wealth and knowledge), Upendra, Swayambhu, four Vedas.	Bhatarka Senapati. Griha Sena. Sridhara Sena 1st. Siladitya 1st. Chara Griha, or Iswara Griha. Sridhara Sena 2nd. Dharuva Sena 2nd. Sridhara Sena 3rd. Dharuva Sena 3rd, or Dharmaditya.	This is No. 1 of four plates found by Dr. Burn at Kaira, and is similar to one published by Mr. Wathen in the J. A. S. B. It confirms the order of the reigns given by Mr. Wathen, and affords additional dates, and circumstances of high interest, respecting the Valabhi, or Balhara dynasty of Gujarat. This plate omits four princes between Bhatarka and Griha Sena, and terminates with Dharuva Sena 3rd, the grantor. Mr. Wathen's plate goes on one prince more, Siladitya 2nd. Although six reigns intervened between Mr. Wathen's and Dr. Burn's plates, the son, named Madana Hila, of the minister Skanna Bhatta, who prepared the first plate, is a witness of the present grant. The bow the chief military weapon. No fire-arms; chariots used. From the absence of all mention of the gods of the modern Hindu Pantheon, it is plain they could not have been respected in Gujarat in the fourth century A.D. Dharuva Sena 3rd, indeed says he is liberal to Brahmans (but without mentioning them with respect) and to the temples of the gods. The grant gives a field to a Brahman, for the sake of the donor's father's and mother's virtue. On the seal is "Sri Bhatarka," under a bull, as in Mr. Wathen's plate.
7 9	1056 545	From a temple at Oodeypur.	Sanskrit; with gross errors of grammar and incorrectness of expression.	Samvat of Vikramaditya 1116, corresponding to 981 Salivahana, and to 446 of the era of Udyaditya, A.D. 1059.	Almost modern Deva Nagari.	Salutation to Ganesa. Parvati. Siva, with five faces! Vedas. Swaha. Meru. Sastras.	Raja Suravira, of the Pavara (Powar?) line. Gondala, his son. Arevalamathana, do. Udayaditya, his son. Salivahana, his son.	This inscription is of importance, as it discloses a new era, that of the family of Udyaditya, the probable founder of Oodeypur, corresponding to the era of Vikramaditya 1116, and of Salivahana 981, and Kaliyuga 4160. This would place the foundation of Oodeypur A.D. 614. The Raja's name is not in the chronological tables of the Sesodi Rajputs, or of any other dynasty. Arevalamathana went to Malava, and recovered his former kingdom of Madhyadesa.

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8	176	Khajrao, eighteen miles from Chhatarpur, in Bundelkund.	Sanskrit verse, in an ambitious inflated style; the verses polished and elaborate, but some obscure, and abounding with quaint pedantry and punning.	The first part of inscription, Samvat 1019, A.D. 962; last part, Samvat 1173 or 1016.	Allahabad No. 3, and therefore resembling the Harsha and Bhabaneswar. In the inscription it is called the *Kakuda* character, and in the eleventh and twelfth centuries appears to have prevailed from Cuttack to Shekavati.	Invocation to Siva. Maheswara, Sambhu, Bharati, Pasupati, Brahma, Maricha and Brahma's other sons, the Munis, Atri, Chandratriya, Vayvarma, Arjuna; and the *Puranic* heroes Prithuka and Kunda, Sumitra, Bhisma, Upendra, Sagar, and the Puranic origin of the ocean noticed; *Linga*, Yuddhishtira, Viswa Karma, Rudra, Vedas. The temple is dedicated to Pramatha Nath.	*Rajas.* Nannuka. Vag Yate. Vijaya. Vahila. Sriharsa. Yaso, Dharma Deva. Banga. Jaya Varma Deva.	The inscription is chiefly in honour of Banga (by his son), who, as is usual, is elevated into a great king. The kings of Oude and Ceylon attend to do him homage, and his captives are the wives of the kings of Andra, Radha, and Anga! Banga is, of course, eulogized by the Brahmans, because he built dwellings for them, and gave them lands, and piously ended his days, aged 109, by drowning himself at the junction of the Jumna and Ganges, as did also the Brahman minister of his father and grandfather. It is to be remarked, that the inscription had twice before been engraved in *irregular* characters, and it was only in A.D. 1016 that it was put into proper Deva Nagari. The story of creation from Brahma and the egg is told. *The influence of the moon on the tides is alluded to.* The inscription alludes to a passage in the Mahabharata, in which Siva is represented to have given his own flesh to a hawk, instead of a bird which had sought refuge with him. This story is told of Buddha, more than 1500 years before this time, and is much more suitable to his humane and life-sparing character than to the bloody Siva. Here again we have got a Brahman (Sri Rama), *whose feet earthly kings adored!*
8	300	Baroda in Gujarat; found in digging the foundations of a house. Copper plates.	Sanskrit, with punning; but the grammatical structure not stated.	Saka 734, or A.D. 812.	Not exactly resembling any other character, but sufficiently near Wathen's plates to admit of its being easily made out by Kamalakanta of Calcutta, though not at all by the Brahmans of Gujarat.	Brahma. Siva is called the god of gods. Dharma, Vishnu, Swayambhu Sambhu, Ganga, Yamuna river, Partha, Indra. The gods Kinnaras, Siddhas Seddhyas and Vedyadharas. Hara. Four Vedas. Cows are called the *daugh-*	Govind Raja. Karka, his son. Krishna, his son. Dhruva, his son. Govind 2nd, his son. Indra, his brother. Karka 2nd, son of Indra, and his brother, Danti Varma, is heir presumptive. These are of the Lateswara dynasty.	At the time of this inscription (the period of Charlemagne in Europe), Hindustan and the Dekkan were divided into *four* kingdoms,—that of Gujara (Gujarat) westward; that of Malwa central; to the east the Gourha Raj, including Bengal and Behar; and the Lateswara Raj to the south. The *Surastra* kingdom spoken of; but, in Karka's reign, it is expressly stated to have been called, before his time, Sowrajya, the identical name of the Sattarah sovereignty at this day. Krishna Raja was devoted to

						ters of the sun. Ramchandra.		Brahmans, and the *nominal* Brahmans, through their *greediness for his gifts*, resumed their former rites. His fort was *Elapur*. Indra Raja, who ruled the Lateshara kingdom conquered that of Gujarat; and he aided the owner of Malava against the King of Gourha (Bengal). The inscription gives a village to the Brahman Bhanu, but without expressions of veneration, for the sake of his father and mother's memory. It is curious for enumerating the privileges consequent on possession; *fishing*, fruit, marriage and other fees; fines for petty offences; free labour; treasure trove; mines, &c.! It concludes with the denunciation from *Veda Vyasa*, against resumers of lands, in the story of the Sagara Raja. The grant is confirmed by the counter-signature of Danti Varma, the heir presumptive.
8	481	Dug up at Kumbhi, in the Saugor territory, thirty-five miles north-east of Jabalpur, on copper-plates.	Sanskrit verse and prose, quaint, and with obsolete names, and punning, and orthographical errors.	Samvat 932, or A.D. 876.	Nearly the same as the Chhattarpur inscription, and therefore like the Harsha and Allahabad No. 3.	Invocation to "OM," and glory to Brahma. Vishnu, Atri, Bodhana, the sun, Puruvaras, Urvasi, Bharata, Yamuna, Purandava or Indra, Prayag, Parusavarma, Indra, Varma Deva, Mahadeva, Sama Veda.	Yuva Raja Deva. Kokalla, his son. Gangaya Deva, his son. Karma Deva, his son. Yasus Karma Deva, his son. Gaya Karma, his son. Nar Sinha Deva, his brother. Vijaya Sinha, his brother. These princes are called of the Kulachuri dynasty.	The grant gives a village to a Brahman, Sitha Sarma, but without expressions of veneration. Karna Deva's wife, Aralla Devi, is stated to have been of a HUN family. The 21st verse likens the king, Nara Sinha, to Parusarama, making the world the *dominion of Brahmans by the destruction of the Kshatrayas*. The inscription is curious for enumerating the chief officers of the king, Vijaya Sinha, namely, the prime minister, chief priest, the chief scribe or secretary of state, the chief councillor, the chief judge, the powerful secretary for foreign affairs, the great chamberlain, the *incorruptible* superintendent of police, the treasurer, and the master of the horse and elephants. The usual interdict to resuming lands and the story of Sagara are quoted.
9	617	Babra, three marches from Jeypur, on the road to Delhi, on a block of	Old Pali, with two or three grammatical errors.	B.C. 309, because the inscription evidently refers to the first convocation at Pata-	Oldest Lát or column character, or Delhi No. 1.	Buddhist. The supreme Buddha. Dharma, or the law, or faith.	Asoko, as Piyadasa Raja.	This is another of Asoko's edicts, from a new locality, showing the wide extent of his domain. It differs somewhat in style and language from the pillar and rock edicts. The subject is the Buddhist

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		stone or rock on a hill.		liputta, or Patna, in that year, in the 17th year of the reign of Asoko.				commandment, forbidding the sacrifice of four-footed animals. The Vedas are alluded to but not named, and condemned as "*mean, and false in their doctrine, and not to be obeyed.*" The scriptures of the Munis (which must be the Vedas) are spoken of as directing blood-offerings and the sacrifice of animals. Priests and priestesses, religious men and religious women, amongst the Buddhists, are commanded to obey the edict, and bear it in their hearts.
2		Mahamalaipur rock inscriptions.	Sanskrit	Eighth to tenth century.	Kutila or Gaur character.	Siva...............	None named	These inscriptions relate to the well-known sculptures at Mahamalaipur, and are little more than names applied to the figures in the sculptures. They are described in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society.

P.S. In the body of my Notes, I omitted mention of some important facts contained in the above Analysis of Ancient Inscriptions; namely, that prior to the fourth century A.D., every inscription whatever is in the Pali language, and by Buddhists; and subsequently to that period, a rough Sanskrit makes its appearance, gradually refining into the polished Sanskrit of the tenth and eleventh centuries, the Buddhists themselves, FOR THE FIRST TIME, using the so-called Sanskrit. And every subsequent inscription of these religionists being in that language, the Pali disappearing from India; but being retained by the fugitive Buddhists in foreign countries; thus affording *further* ground for the presumption that the so-called Sanskrit gradually superseded and displaced the Pali.

W. H. SYKES.

No. IV.

Very frequent mention of the Puranas having been made in the preceding Notes, the following very brief—indeed skeleton—analysis, taken from Professor Wilson's observations, may be useful. The chief object is to give the impression of so learned an authority as Professor Wilson with respect to the dates of the well-known productions.

Sect.	*Names of Purana.*	*Chief Object.*	*Chief Descriptions.*	*Probable Dates.*
1 Vishnu..	Brahma	Worship of Siva, of the Sun, also of Krishna as Jagannath.	Orissa and its temples, and the Banas river in Marwar.	13th to 14th centuries.
2 Vishnu..	Padma	Do., lake of Pushkara, or Pokhar in Ajmer.	Temple of Sri-rangam, in Mysore, and city of Haripur (probably) Vijayanayar (14th century) on the Tungabhadra.	12th to 16th centuries.
3 Vishnu..	Vishnu	Vishnu exclusively..	..	Wilson thinks about A.D. 954.
4 Siva	Vayu, or Siva	Worship of Siva, of the Yoga school, which originated in the 7th and 8th centuries.	Various Tirthas. The narrator, Suta or bard, half Brahman half Kshatriya.	The oldest, probably, from its air and want of reference to known modern things. 7th and 8th centuries.
5 Vishnu..	Sri Bhagavata....	Vishnu and Krishna. Asserts all is illusion. Hindus of every caste, and even Mlechchhas, outcasts or barbarians, might learn to have faith in Vasudeva.	Vopadeva, to whom it is attributed, lived at the court of Hemadri, Raja of Devagiri Deogur or Dowlatabad, prior to its conquest by the Moslems in the 14th century. Twenty-four incarnations.	After Vishnu to 13th century, say Colebrooke and Wilson. Itself asserts it was composed after all the others.
6 Vishnu..	Narada, or Naradiya.	Vishnu. Virulently sectarial.	Let not this Purana be repeated in the presence of the killers of cows and contemners of the gods—Moslems.	Modern—about 16th or 17th century: after the Mahomedans.
7 Durga..	Markanda, Markandeya.	Durga or Kali.......	Quotes the Mahabharat. Not sectarial; chiefly narrative.	9th or 10th century.
8 Siva	Agni, or Agneya..	Saiva. Worship at Gaya.	Follows Mahabharat and Ramayana in stories of Rama and Krishna; not a word original, but a cyclopædia of old materials. Seems, in some places, an abridgment of the Vishnu.	Cannot be very remote. Probably before the Mahomedan invasion. Cites the commentator on Panini, therefore after mass of Hindu poetry, and part supplied eight or nine centuries ago.
9	Bhavishya, or prophetic.	Worship of Siva. Legends of Nag Panchani; a mere ritual. No Purana.	Mahabharata quoted, and Krishna is said to relate it to Yudhishthira.	Probably prior to the Moslem invasion.

Sect.	*Names of Purana.*	*Chief Object.*	*Chief Descriptions.*	*Probable Dates.*
10 Vishnu	Brahma Vaivartha.	To describe acts of Brahma, Devi, *Ganesa*, and Krishna, chiefly the latter.	Sectarial, and no Purana at all. Origin of artificer's caste.	Certainly modern, as it cannot be the Purana mentioned in the Matsya.
11 Siva...	Linga	Worship of Siva as the Phallus, but no mention of obscene rites.	Sectarial, and properly not a Purana. Brahma and Vishnu fight for supremacy, and the Linga puts down both. Twenty-eight incarnations.	Certainly not before the 8th or 9th centuries, and may be later.
12 Vishnu	Varâha, or Boar.	Vishnu, in the boar incarnation. No leaning to Krishna.	Various Tirthas; one of Mutra (Mathura).	12th century.
13 Siva	Skanda, or Six-faced deity.	Siva worship.	Sectarial temples of Siva at Benares, or Kasi, and also his temples in Orissa and at Jagannath.	The Kasi Khanda, probably before Mahmud of Ghazni's first attack on Benares.
14 Vishnu and Siva.	Vamana, or Dwarf.	Vishnu; but mixture of Linga, and worship of both.	Dwarf avatar of Vishnu, or Krishna. Various Tirthas at Benares. Himalaya, and north-west of Delhi.	Subsequent to the rivalry of the Saivas and Vaishnavas. May have been compiled about three or four centuries ago.
15 Siva and Durga.	Kurma, or Tortoise.	Worship of Siva and Durga; although the name would imply Vaishnava.	Avatars of Vishnu, and legends of Siva.	Subsequent to Tantrika, Sakta, and Jain sects. Yogis try to identify themselves with the divinity.
16 Siva ...	Matsya, or Fish.	Worship of Siva, but not sectarial.	Fish avatar. *The Mahabharata quotes this story from the Matsya*, and therefore should be *subsequent*.	Quotes the very words of Vishnu and Padma Puranas, and therefore after 12th century.
17 Vishnu and Siva.	Garuda, or Vulture.	Sun, Siva, and Vishnu worship.	Birth of Garuda not mentioned, but of sacred places dedicated to the sun. A questionable Purana.	Quotes the Tantrika ritual, therefore subsequent to 7th and 8th centuries.
18 Siva ...	Brahmanda	Narrative, chiefly; but also worship of Durga as Parasakti.	Egg of Brahma, of Kamchi, or Konjeveram.	Rules of a Sakta, or Tantrika description given, therefore modern, as Wilson calls them corruptions of the religion of the Vedas and *Puranas*.

The Puranas are not to be relied upon, in their present condition, as authorities for the mythological religion of the Hindus at any remote period. The Mahabbharata says of itself, that no legend is current in the world which is unconnected with it, and therefore intimates its being the origin of those told in the Puranas.—*Preface to the Vishnu Purana*, p. 58.

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